



World Theatre Season, Internationalisation
and British Performance Culture

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis explores the World Theatre Season (WTS), an annual season of international theatre companies presented at the Aldwych Theatre in London by the impresario Peter Daubeney, in partnership with the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), between 1964 and 1975. As the first academic study to consider the WTS at length, this project represents an institutional history and draws on several case study productions to address the impact of the WTS on British performance culture in terms of repertoire, playwriting, acting, directing and design.

The Introduction sets out the project's scope and research contexts and outlines its materialist and historiographic approach. Chapter One outlines the dominant trends in histories of international theatre on the post-World War II British stage and considers to what extent the WTS figures in established narratives, as well as providing a materialist analysis of the WTS as institution. Chapter Two analyses two productions presented at the WTS by the Núria Espert Company and considers the WTS's contribution to expanded understandings of Spanish theatre and culture in the UK at the time of Francisco Franco's dictatorship. Chapter Three discusses the work of Czech scenographer, Josef Svoboda, and Polish director, Andrzej Wajda, and considers WTS contribution to developing interest in Eastern European theatre practice in the UK during the Cold War. Chapter Four explores how the productions presented by the Negro Ensemble Company from the US and the Natal Theatre Workshop Company from South Africa expanded both understandings of the expressive possibilities of black theatre and opportunities for black practitioners on the British stage.

By retrieving the WTS from the footnotes of theatre history, this study offers fresh insights into the history of the post-War British stage and reconfigures dominant discourses, enabling a broader appreciation of the presence and influence of international work.

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List of Abbreviations

ABTT: Association of British Theatre Technicians

BAM: Black Arts Movement

BBC: British Broadcasting Company

BFI: British Film Institute

BITE: Barbican International Theatre Events

BITEF: Belgrade International Festival

CEMA: Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts

CIE: Commission Internationale de L'Eclairage

CNT: Czech National Theatre

EEC: European Economic Community

EIF: Edinburgh International Festival

ENO: English National Opera

ESC: English Stage Company

EU: European Union

G2G: Globe to Globe festival

GLC: Greater London Council

IFTR: International Federation for Theatre Research

ITAC: International Association of Theatre Critics

ITI: International Theatre Institute

LAMDA: London Academy of Music and Drama

LFF: London Film Festival

LIFT: London International Festival of Theatre

LIMF: London International Mime Festival

LTS: London Theatre Studio

MIF: Manchester International Festival

NTWC: Natal Theatre Workshop Company

NEC: Negro Ensemble Company

NFT: National Film Theatre

NT: National Theatre

OISTAT: International Organisation of Scenographers, Theatre Architects and Technicians

PQ: Prague Quadrennial of Theatre Design and Architecture

RSC: Royal Shakespeare Company

SBTD: Society of British Theatre Designers

STR: Society for Theatre Research

V&A: Victoria and Albert Museum

WTS: World Theatre Season

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Introduction¹

In April 2017, Mark Ball, then outgoing director of the London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT) and now Associate Artistic Director of the Manchester International Festival (MIF), conducted an informal poll with fifty international artists. 70% of those questioned said that they were less inclined to work with British artists and organisations post-Brexit. Ball reported that artists have decided not to pursue projects that were in discussion for LIFT 2020 since the result of the EU referendum in the UK in June 2016 because of uncertainty around questions of visas and work permits. Ball suggested, 'the signal that the UK has sent out is that this is a country in retreat, which is less welcoming to artists from around the world'.² Given the marked impact that Brexit is already having on the possibilities of international theatre programming on British stages, this thesis presents itself as a timely and important scholarly venture because it explores the influences of international work on understandings of what constitutes British theatre.

This is the first full-length scholarly study of the World Theatre Season (WTS), an annual season of visiting international theatre companies that took place at the Aldwych Theatre in London between 1964 and 1975. Directed by the impresario Peter Daubeney and presented in partnership with the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), the WTS's inaugural season took place as part of the RSC's celebrations for

¹ I have used the MHRA referencing system

² Mark Ball at *Brexit the Stage: What Next for British Theatre and Europe?* Conference organized by the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance in partnership with the Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, 22 April 2017. <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/brexit-stage-international-programming/> [accessed 27 November 2017]

the 400th anniversary of William Shakespeare's birth. It subsequently ran as part of the RSC's annual programming for eleven years,³ taking place for eight to thirteen weeks every spring at the company's London home. The WTS brought international theatre to the UK on an unprecedented scale, presenting 48 companies from 19 countries across 4 continents. Through extensive primary research in archives and by gathering oral history, I aim to bring the WTS and the work it programmed to the attention of scholars, and to create a new evidence base for the influence of international practices on British theatre. As the UK renegotiates its identity on the global stage in political, economic, and cultural terms, this project aims to embed the WTS into British theatre history, thereby demonstrating the ways in which British theatre has been productively shaped and influenced through cultural connections and collaborations with Europe and the rest of the world. By attending carefully to the past, I hope to rethink and reassess many of the premises on which current understandings of British theatre history have been founded and formulate new imaginaries for future relationships between British and international stages.

In the following pages, I establish the scope of the project, introduce its key research contexts and methodologies, and outline its structure and development chapter by chapter.

³ There was no WTS in 1974 due to Peter Daubeney being unwell

Terminology

British

My project explicitly states its intention to intervene in the history of theatre in Britain by exploring the impact of the WTS on 'British' performance culture. I use this term to signal my intervention in a scholarly discourse that uses the term 'British' as an organising principle. Surveys of British theatre history and contemporary British practice consistently invoke the national in this way: Aleks Sierz's *Rewriting the Nation: British Theatre Today* (2011); Michael Billington's *State of the Nation: British Theatre Since 1945* (2007); Dominic Shellard's *British Theatre Since the War* (1999); and Dan Rebellato's *1956 And All That: The Making of Modern British Theatre* (1999). As S. E. Wilmer argues,

the nation-state remains an important frame for organising knowledge. National histories continue to be written and rewritten, and they continue to help construct, challenge, or reaffirm notions of identity.⁴

Implicit in Wilmer's observation is an understanding of national identity as continually in flux. Similarly, Jen Harvie speaks of the nation's 'intrinsic and dynamic hybridity'⁵ and Nadine Holdsworth describes the nation as 'ambivalent and hybrid'.⁶ I align myself with Harvie and Holdsworth in my understanding of the term 'British' as meaning different things to different people and in varying contexts. Indeed, ideas of what the term means will have changed and mutated dramatically from the period of the WTS to the time of writing. In the context of this project, I am particularly interested in what Holdsworth identifies as 'the changing character of

⁴ S. E. Wilmer, 'Introduction' in S. E. Wilmer, ed., *Writing and Rewriting National Theatre Histories* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2004), pp. ix-xi (p. x)

⁵ Jen Harvie, *Staging the UK* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 7

⁶ Nadine Holdsworth, *Theatre and Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 22

the nation as a result of the movement of people’⁷ and emphatically embrace an engagement with the ‘international’ (a term I unpack below) as part of my understanding of ‘Britishness’. Wilmer writes that,

cross-border traffic confuses the sense of national identity and national sovereignty. National theatre histories have helped strengthen national borders by simulating a national fortress of artistic activity despite the fact that writers, directors, designers, and performers have frequently crossed those borders.⁸

I would like to incorporate the ‘cross-border traffic’ of the WTS as a way of expanding understandings of British theatre history. By drawing transnational connections between the work that appeared at the WTS and subsequent practice on the British stage, I aim to demonstrate that the WTS left an indelible mark on British performance culture and contributed to a broader understanding of what British theatre was and could be.

Internationalisation

I have chosen the term ‘international’ in order to ground my study in the post-World War II years. As I outline in Chapter One, the end of the War proved a significant impetus for the establishment of many cultural organisations that identified as ‘international’. I employ the term to reflect how the WTS positioned itself as part of these developing international networks. In Chapter One, I analyse how the WTS achieved this through its working practices and its discourses. The term ‘internationalisation’, then, reflects the role played by the WTS in integrating the UK into these post-War networks as well as the effects that this greater cultural connectedness had on working practices in the UK.

⁷ Ibid., p. 23

⁸ S. E. Wilmer, ‘On Writing National Theatre Histories’, in Wilmer, p. 18

My understanding of the 'international' in this context is indelibly linked to the post-War notion of using culture to bind nations together after the division of war, an ideal which was grounded in a humanist belief that artistic expression could transcend difference and speak to a common humanity. As Ric Knowles indicates, understandings of the potential of art to communicate universal truths tends instead,

to police the norms and commonsense understandings of dominant cultures, and to efface significant cultural and material differences based on such things as national, political, cultural, and geographical location, together with class, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.⁹

My materialist analysis of the WTS and its influence aims to assuage such erasures by rooting the case study productions and their influence in specific social and cultural contexts. Integral to my understanding of the 'international' on the post-War British stage, then, are the politics of General Francisco Franco's dictatorship (Chapter Two); the Cold War (Chapter Three); and issues of colonialism and diaspora (Chapter Four).

Despite this affinity with post-War applications of the term 'international', the WTS chose to employ the word 'World' in its name. Although Daubeney offers no explanation in his autobiography into the reasons why this choice was made, I would suggest it lexically represents another expression of post-War optimism. In her reflections on post-War political rhetoric, Glenda Sluga observes that,

world government and world citizenship stood for a conception of international politics as a sphere in which international organisations would

⁹ Ric Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 9-10

represent the political ambitions of the world's population for equality, progress, peace and security, and democratic representation.¹⁰

Sluga argues that the resolve for international peace and change on a political level was proclaimed as 'world'-oriented and thus had a similar function to the application of 'international' in the cultural sphere. I suspect that Daubeny's application of the term reflects this usage, rather than its development as an epithet to denote 'non-Western' in such categorisations as 'world music' or 'world food'. As Philip V. Bohlman discusses in *World Music: A Very Short Introduction*, this meaning of the term evolved in the 1980s, when it became inseparable from the phenomenon of 'globalisation' and was adopted by record companies and advertising specialists to define, and thereby sell, popular music from outside the Anglo-American and European mainstreams.¹¹ The WTS applied the term to 'theatre' before this understanding had gained popular currency and in addition, the breadth of WTS programming does not reflect such a limited definition.

Performance Culture

My understanding of performance culture in the context of this thesis is inflected by a materialist approach that will receive full attention in the section on methodologies below. I apply the term 'performance culture' rather than 'theatre' in part as a catch-all for the occasional moments where my analysis touches on opera and dance, but more importantly to signal this project's divergence from dominant constructions of British theatre history as fundamentally literary. In

¹⁰ Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 87

¹¹ Philip V. Bohlman, 'Preface', in Philip V. Bohlman, *World Music: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Staging the UK, Harvie examines how books on twentieth-century British theatre concentrate overwhelmingly on plays and playwrights¹² and explores how this dominant British theatre historiography has ‘described – and so produced – its object as uniquely British and autonomous from other traditions and histories’.¹³ Given that this project is invested in demonstrating how British performance culture has been and continues to be in productive dialogue with other performance cultures, in Chapter One I align myself with Harvie’s alternative British theatre historiography, which understands performance culture not as uniquely and consistently literary, but as material. Throughout the thesis I attend to the WTS’s materiality, encompassing working practices in the cultural industry (funding patterns, organisational structures within institutions, spaces and places of performance, and public discourses) as well as artistic practices (programming, repertoires, models of direction, design and acting). Working practices are given close attention in Chapter One in relation to the WTS as an institution within the UK’s wider cultural landscape, and artistic practices are explored in relation to my case study productions in Chapters Two to Four. Moving my history of the WTS and its legacy beyond traditional analysis of aestheticism enables me to delineate its deep-rooted impact, not only on what is staged and how this is achieved artistically, but also on the material conditions that shape these productions and the contexts in which their audiences receive them.

¹² Harvie 2005, pp. 114-16

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 113

Case Study Selection

When navigating the WTS's eleven-year programme in search of potential case studies, the first challenge I encountered was the lack of a complete record of visiting productions. Daubeny's autobiography contains a list of visiting companies and their productions for the period between 1964 and 1971.¹⁴ Given the book's publication date in 1971, it omits the final three seasons in 1972, 1973 and 1975. I could find no other public record of WTS programming, which both reinforced the need for a dedicated study and directed the initial strand of my primary research. I compiled a complete database of WTS productions, which is included as an appendix to this thesis.

My choice of case study productions was to an extent motivated by the WTS's investment in its own humanist and diplomatic potential. I felt these aspects of the WTS's aims and ambitions might be revealingly tested and explored in relation to companies that were implicated in significant geopolitical events taking place simultaneous to the WTS. In Chapter Two, I address the Núria Espert Company, which appeared at the WTS at a time when conventional diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations between the UK and Spain were limited by Franco's dictatorship. In Chapter Three, I consider the work of Czech designer Josef Svoboda and Polish director Andrzej Wajda, who came to the WTS at a time when relations between the UK and Eastern Europe were limited by the Cold War. Finally, in Chapter Four, I consider the WTS's engagement with the Negro Ensemble Company from the US and the Natal Theatre Workshop Company (later the Zulu Company)

¹⁴ Peter Daubeny, *My World of Theatre* (London: Cape, 1971), pp. 16-20

from South Africa, which came to the WTS during the height of the Civil Rights Movement and Apartheid. These contexts inform my analysis of the reception and impact of the work of these companies and practitioners, facilitating insights into the cultural and ideological work done by the WTS in fraught geopolitical contexts.

My choices were also led in part by a desire to reflect fairly the range of WTS programming, both geographically and chronologically. As I demonstrate in Chapter One, existing studies that mention the WTS tend to characterise its programme as predominantly European. Chapters Two and Three aim to demonstrate that understandings of 'Europe' during the period of the WTS differ enormously to contemporary conceptions and that one of the WTS's key contributions was to expand understandings of Europe and of what constituted European theatre. In Chapter Four I demonstrate the geographical reach of WTS programming, encompassing companies from the US and Africa.

In addition to showcasing programming variety and reach, I was conscious of the need to attend to chronology. My chosen case studies came in 1966, 1969, 1971-1973 and 1975. My attention is marginally weighted towards later years because one of my key archival resources, the Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection,¹⁵ contains significantly more documentation in relation to the years between 1972 and 1975. The material was donated to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) by David Rees, who was a member of WTS staff during that time. Whilst the ready availability of archival information has shaped my choices, I have

¹⁵ THM/85, Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

also made a conscious effort to engage with earlier years that are less represented in this key archival resource, namely 1966, 1969 and 1971.

Finally, and importantly, all my chosen case studies represent notable examples of international work that has had considerable and long-term impact on British performance culture. As such, they constitute a significant evidence base for my central argument: that the WTS played an important and undervalued role on the development of performance culture on the post-War British stage.

Research Contexts

This project engages with three critical areas in the field of theatre and performance studies: post-War British theatre history; theatre and nation; and theatre and interculturalism. I will briefly outline this project's intervention in these key areas. These will receive greater attention in my chapters, where key literatures sit alongside my own accounts and interventions.

Post-War British Theatre History

I have chosen 'post-War' as my period concept for three key reasons. First, as previously mentioned, the end of World War II provided an impetus for the increased formalization of 'international' cultural projects, and this project aims to establish the WTS as an integral part of these developing international theatre networks. Second, Daubeney began his career as an impresario after the War, giving up on his pre-War dream of becoming an actor after losing an arm in Salerno as part of the Italian Campaign.¹⁶ As such, this periodization frames Daubeney's career

¹⁶ The Italian Campaign of World War II was the name of Allied operations in and around Italy, from 1943 to the end of the war in Europe

trajectory as a producer pre-WTS and further embeds the WTS in post-War humanist discourses. In Chapter One I attend to how these contexts shaped the WTS as an institution. Third, this periodization indicates my intervention into a pre-established historiographical categorization, applied by historians such as Shellard in *British Theatre Since the War* and Billington in *State of the Nation: British Theatre since 1945*. In Chapter One I engage with discourses of post-War British theatre history, drawing on selective texts that focus on this period in order to analyse how the history of international theatre on the British stage in this period is narrativised and to establish the intervention made by this thesis. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to inscribe the WTS and its achievements into post-War British theatre history and argues that this enables a much broader appreciation of the presence of international work on the post-War British stage.

While this 'post-War' framing is productive in some ways, I am also careful to underline its shortcomings. Thomas Postlewait suggests that 'the concept of periodization acts as a controlling generalization, an unconscious or unarticulated presupposition'¹⁷ and highlights the potential for thought to be 'directed, even conditioned, by the terms and systems we take up'.¹⁸ In Chapter One I trouble the application of this periodization in selective histories and extend my survey of international theatre on the British stage back to the nineteenth century, positioning the WTS as a significant part of a diachronic process, which pushes against what Postlewait identifies as the 'synchronic tendencies of period

¹⁷ Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 191

¹⁸ Ibid.

concepts’.¹⁹ This also serves to underline the UK’s engagement with international theatre as part of a continuum, contributing to a discourse that highlights how British theatre culture is, and always has been, developing in dialogue with other theatre cultures.

As well as attending to the underrepresentation of the WTS in existing accounts of post-War British theatre history, my intervention into this research context focuses on additional underrepresented aspects of the post-War British stage. In Chapter Four, I position issues of colonialism and diaspora as integral to my understanding of the WTS and its position in post-War British theatre history and demonstrate how these have been marginalised in several existing accounts. Throughout the project, I have been struck by the absence of women in the sources I have drawn on for my research. Where male directors, critics, and producers are dominant in the period’s associated histories and archives, I am careful to highlight the important and uncredited role played by Molly Daubeny, Peter Daubeny’s wife, in the organisation of the WTS and in safeguarding its legacy. Her contribution to the WTS was substantial and decisive, but her part in the history has not been acknowledged. In my Conclusion, I demonstrate the influence Molly Daubeny had on Thelma Holt, Rose Fenton and Lucy Neal, three key female practitioners who played a significant role in carrying the internationalism of the WTS forward into their own professional lives. Further, my chosen case study in Chapter Two (the Núria Espert Company) demonstrates the wish to inscribe women’s performance histories into wider theatre histories. A substantial amount of work has already

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 193

been done by Maria M. Delgado to uncover the significance of Espert as a powerful theatrical player. Delgado has argued that ‘the self-sufficiency of her company, surviving without state subsidies in the Franco era, provided an image of female self-sufficiency and independence’.²⁰ My analysis of the company’s two productions at the WTS demonstrates that a significant aspect of her legacy in the UK lies in her impact on the working practices of several British women practitioners.

Theatre and Nation

As indicated by its title, this project is concerned with cultural interactions across national borders. I have already defined my use of the terms ‘British’ and ‘International’ above and aligned my understanding of national identity and nationhood with Harvie and Holdsworth’s conceptions of the nation as essentially dynamic. In order to scrutinise further the role played by ideas of national identity at the WTS, I draw on the founding principle of Harvie’s *Staging the UK*, which understands national identities as ‘neither biologically nor territorially given’ but rather as ‘creatively produced or staged’.²¹ This provides a useful frame for my consideration of what kind of ‘world’ and what kind of national identities were performed by and at the WTS. In Chapter One, I analyse the WTS as an institution and address its use of nation as a framing device for visiting companies in its discourses. In Chapters Two to Four, I explore the extent to which the identities ‘performed’ by the visiting companies upheld or subverted the WTS’s application of the nation in its discourses. As I will demonstrate, the working practices of many

²⁰ Maria M. Delgado, *‘Other’ Spanish Theatres: Erasure and Inscription on the Twentieth Century Spanish Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 180

²¹ Harvie 2005, p. 2

companies went beyond concerns of nation or were overtly resistant to national expressions of identity. In this way, this study hopes to contribute to the work of Harvie and Holdsworth and to extend conversations that are concerned with ‘the ways that theatre has participated in dynamic articulations of, challenges to and reappraisals of the nation and national identity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries’.²²

Theatre and Interculturalism

In *Theatre and Interculturalism*, Knowles introduces his subject of study as,

theatrical attempts to bridge cultures through performance, to bring different cultures into productive dialogue with one another on the stage, in the space between the stage and the audience, and within the audience.²³

This definition resonates in multiple ways with my research into the WTS. The vast body of work on interculturalism provides a productive frame for navigating my way through the complex nexus of cultural encounters that took place through the WTS and contributes to my analysis of the WTS’s aims and ambitions, its materials conditions, and its influence and legacy on the British stage. This study draws on the following key works in order to examine to what extent the WTS can be celebrated as a productive expansion of British theatre in terms of both aesthetics and politics and to what extent it resulted in appropriation and cultural exploitation: Christopher Balme’s *Decolonising the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-Colonial Drama* (1999); Erika Fischer-Lichte’s *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign* (1990); Julie Holledge and Joanne Tompkins’s *Women’s Intercultural Performance* (2000); and Ric Knowles’s *Theatre and*

²² Nadine Holdsworth, *Theatre and National Identity: Re-imagining Conceptions of Nation* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 2

²³ Ric Knowles, *Theatre and Interculturalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 1

Interculturalism (2010). Whilst being attentive to concerns of neo-imperialism in the cultural sphere, outlined by Balme and Holledge and Tompkins in particular, I would like to make space in my analysis for something more creative and culturally productive to emerge.

Methodology

Historiographic and Materialist

In *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, Postlewait describes historiography as,

the methods that define and guide the practice of historical study and writing but also the self-reflexive mindset that leads us to investigate the processes and aims of historical understanding.²⁴

In this section, then, I aim to reflect on how and why I have applied this project's materialist and historiographic methods.

For a project that addresses a subject encompassing performance cultures from a variety of different countries across the globe, materialism is useful in its disruption of universalist narratives. It offers a mode of analysis that enables me to attend to the specifics of the political, social and cultural contexts that produced the WTS and my chosen case study productions. I am particularly indebted to Knowles' model of materialist semiotics, which he develops in *Reading the Material Theatre*. Knowles argues that meaning is 'produced in the theatre as a negotiation at the intersection of three shifting and mutually constitutive poles: performance, conditions of production, and conditions of reception'.²⁵ Performance refers to the 'raw

²⁴ Postlewait, p. 2

²⁵ Knowles 2004, p. 3

theatrical event shared by practitioners and audiences' and the conditions of production and reception are the 'material conditions' that 'shape both what appears on stage and how it is read, or understood'.²⁶ I have read this alongside Postlewait's 'model of the four hermeneutical triangles',²⁷ in which the 'event' is situated in relation to four contributing factors: world, agents, artistic heritage and receptions, which are connected in a series of triads along the sides of four triangles.²⁸ These two models in tandem have helped direct my questioning and enriched my methods of research, analysis and interpretation. In Chapter One, I seek to establish the conditions of production and reception at the WTS through my analysis of the WTS as institution. I consider a selective group of material conditions that best apply to my object of study: space, institutional structures and practices, finances, and public discourse. My readings of Knowles and Postlewait have informed my analysis of the kinds of spaces that framed practitioner and audience experience at the WTS; the structure of the collaboration between the RSC, the WTS, and the Aldwych Theatre; the economies the WTS participated in; and the values and aims it promoted in its programmes, posters, and advertising campaigns.

In the case study chapters, this analysis of the institutional context will be read alongside the 'raw theatrical event' of individual productions. My materialist approach is concerned with establishing in what way the conditions of production and reception at the WTS shaped how the productions were understood by WTS

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Postlewait, p. 19

²⁸ Ibid., p. 18

audiences and to what extent the meaning that was produced went on to have an impact on British performance culture.

Postlewait delineates two limitations of his model, which can also usefully be applied to that of Knowles. First, he warns that it is 'a synchronic representation of the theatrical event and its connecting contexts'.²⁹ For Postlewait, the term 'synchronic' demarcates the theatrical event 'within its specific time and place' and in relation to 'simultaneous occurrences and contributing factors'.³⁰ The term 'diachronic' describes events positioned in relation to one another by means of 'ideas of motive, aim, change, causality, effect, and consequence'.³¹ I have already demonstrated in relation to my application of the term 'post-War' that my diachronic approach in Chapter One goes some way to disrupt what Postlewait describes as the 'synchronic representation' modelled by him and Knowles, by extending my consideration of international theatre on the British stage back to the end of the nineteenth century. As this project addresses the legacy of the WTS, my analysis of the 'raw theatrical event' and its connecting contexts is always invested in its relation to subsequent developments and how they are connected in a sequence of possible developments and causes. As such, this project models its analysis of the 'raw theatrical event' on Knowles' and Postlewait's synchronic models and then places this analysis in time, considering what came before and, most importantly for the project's argument regarding WTS impact on British performance culture, what came afterwards.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 19

³⁰ Ibid., p. 145

³¹ Ibid.

The second limitation identified by Postlewait relates back to the person applying the method, the historian, and the inevitable partiality of their understanding.

Postlewait observes that,

the model does not close the distance between the event and the historians. The event thus occurs at one moment, but the historian, in a different time and place, is a displaced 'observer'.³²

This links back to the 'self-reflexive mindset' that Postlewait advocates for in his definition of historiographic practice. He continues that 'the historian's understanding is conditioned in many ways by his or her experiences within the present world and the knowledge of the current artistic traditions'.³³ In relation to this historiographic problem, Peter Burke proposes,

an approach to the past which asks present-minded questions but refuses to give present-minded answers; which concerns itself with traditions but allows for their continual reinterpretation.³⁴

In Burke's formulation, 'present-mindedness' is a necessary feature of any re-evaluation or revision of established histories. However, he warns that historians should be mindful to 'avoid anachronistic attribution of our [their] own intentions, interests and values'.³⁵ In Chapter One, I draw on Burke's work to assess current understandings of WTS programming as 'European' or 'Eurocentric'. I argue that this characterisation betrays more about contemporary understandings of Europe and Eurocentrism than it does about the Europe with which the WTS was engaging.

³² Ibid., p. 19

³³ Ibid., p. 20

³⁴ Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), p. 2

³⁵ Ibid., p. 1

Whilst I have found materialist modes of analysis fruitful in relation to this project, I am also conscious of their limits. In their foreword to *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield position 'materialism' in opposition to 'idealism', insisting that 'culture does not (cannot) transcend the material forces and relations of production'.³⁶ However, Harvie warns that 'cultural materialist analysis risks suggesting that making socially progressive theatre verges on the impossible because theatre is always so constrained by its material conditions'.³⁷ Throughout the thesis, I am attentive to the fact that the WTS traded on the cultural and economic capital associated with the Shakespeare industry and with London's imperial ties as a global city. However, my analysis aims to demonstrate how the WTS served a productive cultural and creative function despite these power structures.

Sources

Given that this thesis attempts to construct a history of the WTS, I have undertaken extensive primary archival research, retrieving, collating, and analysing data from a variety of sources in order to establish 'the basic factors of who, what, where, when', and to open discussions as to 'how and why'.³⁸ The founding Collection for this research project was the Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection in the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance. As part of my engagement with this Collection, I created a public catalogue that is now searchable on the V&A website³⁹

³⁶ Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. viii

³⁷ Jen Harvie, *Theatre & the City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 9

³⁸ Postlewait, p. 1

³⁹ <http://www.vam.ac.uk/archives/unit/ARC64618> [accessed 1 December 2017]

and on Archives Hub.⁴⁰ The contents of this Collection reflect Rees' experience at the WTS as Liaison Officer in 1972, as Daubeny's Personal Assistant in 1973, and as Administrator in 1975. As such, it comprises administrative records for 1975; a collation of publicity materials used to promote the tenth anniversary season in 1973; production photographs for 1972-73 and 1975; and posters for 1972-73. The 'Form of Declaration of Gift', signed by Rees on 1 October 1985, states that the V&A accepts the donation 'for the benefit of the nation'.⁴¹ In her capacity as Senior Curator of Contemporary and Modern Performance, Kate Dorney defined the V&A's remit as 'to document the history and practice of the performing arts in Britain from early modern times to the present'⁴² and expressed pertinent questions about what it means to be the 'national' collection of performing arts at a 'national' museum. In the context of my desire to contribute to expanded post-Brexit understandings of 'Britishness', it seems an appropriate time to bring knowledge of this Collection into the public domain. As Stuart Hall has observed,

what the nation 'means' is an on-going project, under constant reconstruction. We come to know its meaning partly *through* the objects and artefacts which have been made to stand for and symbolise its essential values.⁴³

As a group of privileged objects held in the UK's national theatre collection, the Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection exposes a British heritage that is

⁴⁰ <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/8a4c391a-cacb-3544-9a36-e82a039537bc?terms=peter%20daubeny%20world%20theatre%20season> [accessed 01 December 2017]

⁴¹ Reference File for the Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection, RF: 85/1944, V&A Registry

⁴² Kate Dorney, 'The Ordering of Things: Allure, Access, And Archive', *Shakespeare Bulletin: A Journal of Performance Criticism and Scholarship*, 28.1 (2010), pp. 19-36 (p. 26)

⁴³ Stuart Hall, 'Whose heritage? Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation' in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, eds, *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 23-35 (p. 25)

linked and intertwined with complex patterns of other traditions, histories and 'heritages' around the globe and might, I suggest, contribute to an understanding of 'internationalism' as one of the UK's 'essential values'.

I have made extensive use of the V&A Core Collections (including Production, Photographic and Bibliographical Files) to supplement the material in the Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection and improve my understanding of the WTS productions and their connecting contexts. The Production Files (containing programmes and press cuttings) enabled me to compile a database of visiting companies, their productions, and key cast and creatives. This information, included as an appendix to this thesis, represents the only comprehensive list of WTS productions. The press cuttings have helped shape my production and reception analyses. I have remained conscious, however, of the fact that critical reviews reflect 'what the event meant for a handful of influential people'⁴⁴ and have sought to supplement these records with oral history testimony, which I address below, as well as with information gleaned from other archival resources about audience demographics. My analysis of the conditions of production and reception at the WTS has also been enriched by material in the Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, the Society of Theatre Research Archive, and the Frederick Bentham Archive.

The most significant collection of material relating to the WTS is the Peter Daubeney Collection held at the Howard Gotlieb Research Center in Boston University. This

⁴⁴ Postlewait, p. 13

extensive Collection was sold to the University by Molly Daubeney after her husband's death in 1975. It is structured year by year and contains correspondence, clippings, financial records, press releases, programmes, photographs, synopses, productions notes, and play translations, as well as material relating to the writing of Daubeney's autobiography *My World of Theatre*. Analysed in tandem with the material at the V&A, this Collection offers detailed insight into institutional structures and working practices, and has shaped my portrait of the WTS in Chapter One, as well as my analysis of the conditions of production and reception for my chosen case studies.

I have also spent time researching archives and consulting material in relation to my case studies. These included the Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música [National Institute of Performing Arts and Music] in Madrid and Gabriela Borgna's private archive relating to the Argentinian director Víctor García in Buenos Aires (Chapter Two); the Institut umění – Divadelní ústav [Arts and Theatre Institute], the Svoboda Private Archive in Prague, and the BFI Reuben Library in London (Chapter Three); and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York (Chapter Four).

In addition to this primary archival research, I have sought the records 'that exist in people's memories',⁴⁵ conducting interviews with thirty individuals whose lives and careers intersected in some way with the WTS or with the visiting companies and practitioners. These include the actors Trader Faulkner, Glenda Jackson, Tim Pigott-

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 2

Smith and Wojciech Pszoniak; designers David Hersey, Pamela Howard and Ralph Koltai; directors Yvonne Brewster, David Gothard, Terry Hands, and Andrew Visnevski; dramaturg Sodja Lotker; producers and managers Rose Fenton, Thelma Holt, Brian McMaster, Lucy Neal, Joseph Seelig and Susan Watson Turner; playwrights Ian Brown and Welcome Msoni; writers and critics Helena Albertová, Christopher Baugh, Michael Billington, Colin Chambers, Barbara Přihodová, and Irving Wardle; and WTS staff Molly and Nicholas Daubeney, Joyce Nettles and David Rees. These interviews were conducted between 2014 and 2017, using a pre-planned set of questions.

Given that the WTS ended over forty years ago, this project represents an important window of opportunity to capture the memories of people who worked at the WTS or experienced it as an audience member. I approached interviewees with a variety of professional backgrounds in order to gain insight into the impact the WTS had on different aspects of British performance culture. Within these sectors, individuals often led to others, forming a pattern of interaction that has provided some insight into who was going to the WTS and why. I first approached two critics, Irving Wardle and Michael Billington. These interviews represented an important opportunity to talk to two individuals who had critically engaged with most of the WTS visiting productions as well as to analyse their memories of productions alongside the reviews they wrote decades previously. Indeed, I have sought to marry oral history alongside other documentation throughout the thesis in recognition of the fact that, as Michael McKinnie observes, 'in a materialist vein,

the individual practitioner is only one agent in a much larger historical formation'.⁴⁶

By integrating interviewee testimony alongside my reading of critical material and my archival research, I recognize the partiality of their experiences as well as their usefulness in my assessment of historical possibility or plausibility. McKinnie warns that retrospective testimony 'is more reliable evidence of participants' views now, and less reliable evidence of their intentions and aspirations then'.⁴⁷ Given that this project is preoccupied with the WTS's legacy on British performance culture, it is precisely what the interviewees remember and think of the WTS now that is of interest to the project.

Thesis Structure

In this Introduction, I have delineated my area of study, outlined the project's critical contexts, and clarified how and why I apply my chosen methods. I have set out the aims and ambitions of my project, which are to inscribe the WTS into British theatre history and to demonstrate the significant role it has played in developing links between British and international stages, shaping British performance culture. Each chapter contributes to an understanding of how the WTS operated in post-War British theatre landscapes, how it connected with wider international theatre networks, and how these connections facilitated ongoing international influence on working and artistic practice in the UK.

In Chapter One, I position the WTS in the post-War British theatre landscape. I focus my analysis in two parts. First, I offer a sustained survey of the existing trends

⁴⁶ Michael McKinnie, *City Stages: Theatre and Urban Space in a Global City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 14

⁴⁷ Ibid.

and definitions of international theatre in Britain as part of broader post-War narratives of British theatre history. I introduce this project's intervention, which uses the figure of Daubeney as a lens through which to re-evaluate the dominant discourses and to position the WTS in the narrative. Second, I turn to detailed consideration of the WTS as an institution. I begin by outlining how the WTS has been characterised by previous scholarly accounts before providing my own analysis, which outlines how the WTS functioned as an institution. Ultimately, this chapter argues that extended consideration of Daubeney and the WTS contributes to a reconfiguration of the dominant discourses of post-War British theatre history, allowing for a broader, more varied appreciation of the relationship between the world and the British stage.

The following three chapters mark a transition to case study analysis. In Chapter Two, I address the Núria Espert Company's three consecutive visits between 1971 and 1973 with *The Maids* (*Las criadas*, 1971) and *Yerma* (1972-73) and consider the WTS's contribution to expanded understandings of Spanish theatre and culture in the UK at a time when Spain was politically and culturally isolated by its position as a military dictatorship. As I will demonstrate, the company combatted stereotyped understandings of Spanish culture in the UK by performing a 'Spain' that was linked dramaturgically to Latin America, through Argentine-born director Víctor García, and Western Europe, through the company's avant garde performance practice. The chapter comprises three sections. The first two consider the impact and legacy of *The Maids* and *Yerma* respectively, demonstrating how the company's work redefined Jean Genet and Federico García Lorca for British audiences, sparking

several revivals and instigating long-term interest in and engagement with the work of these playwrights in Britain. The third considers post-WTS return visits by the company and by Espert and García as independent practitioners, demonstrating their significance in instigating long-term interest in and engagement with Hispanic theatre and culture in the UK.

Chapter Three turns to another corner of Europe that was governed by a dictatorship and considers the WTS's substantial engagement with work from Eastern Europe during the Cold War. This chapter addresses the work of two practitioners: Czech scenographer Josef Svoboda and Polish director Andrzej Wajda. The first section considers Svoboda's work with the Czech National Theatre production of *The Insect Play* (*Ze života hmyzu*, 1966) and considers how this production functioned as the springboard for Svoboda's long-term influence on emerging models of scenography in the UK. The second section addresses Wajda's work with two Cracow Sary Theatre productions, *The Possessed* (*Biesy*, 1972-73) and *November Night* (*Noc listopadowa*, 1975), foregrounding how Wajda's authority as a theatre director intersected with knowledge of his film work, contributing to greater cultural understandings of Polish history and politics in the UK. Ultimately, this chapter argues that the WTS contributed to a developing interest in Czech and Polish theatre and culture in the UK in the heightened context of the Cold War.

Chapter Four extends the focus of this project from Europe towards Africa and the US, reflecting the geographical reach of WTS programming and intersecting with important geopolitical events that were taking place concurrently, namely the Civil

Rights Movement in the US and Apartheid in South Africa. In this Chapter, I argue that WTS programming contributed to this increasingly multi-racial UK theatrical landscape in a variety of productive ways. This chapter comprises two sections. In the first I address the Negro Ensemble Company's production of *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, which came to the WTS in 1969, and in the second I address the Natal Theatre Workshop Company's production of *uMabatha*, which came to the WTS in 1972 and 1973. Ultimately, this Chapter argues that the WTS expanded both understandings of the expressive possibilities of black theatre and opportunities for black practitioners on the British stage.

These case studies aim to complement the historical survey of the WTS provided in Chapter One, by offering detailed examination of the work presented by companies and of the legacy of that work on UK stages.

Chapter One: The World and the British Stage: International Theatre Contexts in Twentieth-Century Britain

This chapter aims to position the WTS diachronically, in relation to earlier instances of international work on the British stage, as well as synchronically, by outlining its connecting contexts and investigating the conditions that contribute to its full identity at a specific time and place. The chapter comprises two sections. The first engages with discourses of post-World War II British theatre history, drawing on selective texts that focus on this period, such as Billington's *State of the Nation: British Theatre since 1945*; Harvie's *Staging the UK*; Harold Hobson's *Theatre in Britain: A Personal View*;¹ Dan Rebellato's *1956 and All That: The Making of Modern British Drama*;² and Shellard's *British Theatre Since the War*. I analyse how the history of international theatre on the British stage in this period is habitually narrativised and set up this project's intervention, which foregrounds the overlooked work of Daubeny. I argue that an exploration of Daubeny's work enables a much broader appreciation of the presence of international work on the post-War British stage.

The second section explores to what extent the WTS figures in established narratives and provides a materialist analysis of the WTS as institution. I argue that those few histories that engage with the WTS tend to distort its achievements and offer my materialist analysis as an initial history of the organisation, which at once problematizes earlier historiographic representations of the WTS and contributes

¹ Harold Hobson, *Theatre in Britain: A Personal View* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd, 1984)

² Dan Rebellato, *1956 And All That: The Making of Modern British Drama* (Oxon: Routledge, 1999)

new material to histories of international theatre in Britain. As outlined in the Introduction, I draw on Knowles' model of materialist semiotics to inform my analysis of the WTS as an institution, considering the material conditions of space, institutional structures and practices, finances, and public discourse. This analysis enables me to represent the breadth of the WTS's achievements before transitioning to a consideration of my chosen case studies in Chapters Two to Four. Ultimately, this chapter argues that extended consideration of Daubeney and the WTS contributes to a reconfiguration of the dominant discourses of post-War British theatre history, allowing for a broader, more varied appreciation of the relationship between the world and the British stage.

Histories of International Theatre on the British stage

Many histories of the post-War British stage position the period immediately after World War II as pivotal for the emergence of international cultural projects. In her history of the Edinburgh Festivals, Angela Bartie suggests that culture was given 'new values' in the immediate post-War period. She describes the founding of the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama in 1947 as,

a means of spiritual refreshment, a way of reasserting moral values, a rebuilding of relationships between nations, of shoring up European civilisations and of providing 'welfare' in its broadest sense.³

In the same year, Jean Vilar founded the international festival in Avignon, which David Bradby and Delgado describe in similar terms as having 'the explicit aim of

³ Angela Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Post-War Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 2

healing the divisions caused by the Second World War'.⁴ In his lecture 'Theatrical Institutions in Motion: Developing Theatre in the Postcolonial Era',⁵ Balme provided an insightful overview of the burgeoning of international institutions in the immediate post-War era, citing the establishment of the International Theatre Institute (ITI) in 1947; the International Association of Theatre Critics (ITAC) in 1956; the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR) in 1957; and the International Organisation of Scenographers, Theatre Architects and Technicians (OISTAT) in 1968. Balme argues that these networks of theatrical expertise contributed to the establishment of what he calls 'a theatrical epistemic community',⁶ which facilitated and encouraged the circulation of ideas and the exchange of experts on an international scale.

Whilst I do not dispute the significance of the end of the War as impetus for an increased formalisation of cultural and theatrical exchange on an international scale, and indeed hope that my institutional study of the WTS will contribute to understandings of post-War international theatre networks, I would suggest that certain dominant histories of the post-War British stage allow this narrative to overshadow international initiatives that were taking place before 1939. Hobson and Shellard both characterize the post-War period as one of 'foreign revelation'⁷ on the British stage. In *Theatre in Britain: A Personal View*, Hobson explores the

⁴ David Bradby and Maria M. Delgado, 'Introduction', in *The Paris Jigsaw: Internationalism and the city's stages*, ed. by David Bradby and Maria M. Delgado (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1-33 (p. 5)

⁵ Christopher Balme, 'Theatrical Institutions in Motion: Developing Theatre in the Postcolonial Era', Leverhulme Lecture, Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, 22 February 2017

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Shellard 2000, p. 17; Hobson 1984, p. 157

significance of American and French post-War influence. He argues that the plays by Williams and Miller brought 'energy, boldness, and courage to the London stage'⁸ and provides detailed analysis of British productions of Anouilh's plays, including a Birmingham Repertory Company production of *Ardèle*, directed by Douglas Seale in 1950; *Eurydice (Point of Departure)*, directed by Peter Ashmore at the Lyric Hammersmith in 1950; and two productions directed by Peter Brook: *Colombe*, at the New Theatre in 1951 and *L'Alouette*, at the Lyric Hammersmith in 1955. In his discussion of the Renaud-Barrault Company and the Comédie-Française, Hobson argues that 'exuberance... was one of the lessons that the French theatre had to teach us',⁹ suggesting that where British actors 'used to treat the body as if *rigor mortis* had set in, and acted only with the voice', Jean-Louis Barrault 'played with every part of his body'¹⁰ and the Comédie-Française were 'bursting with energy'.¹¹ Shellard also pinpoints American and French influence, arguing that 'the opening up of the London stage after the war to creative contact with New York and Paris' was as much of a milestone in 'the re-orientation of British theatre' as John Osborne, Arnold Wesker, and other 'new wave' dramatists.¹² He posits that 'new techniques in acting' were introduced by Barrault's performances with the Renaud-Barrault company at the second Edinburgh Festival in 1948,¹³ and by the

⁸ Hobson 1984, p. 152

⁹ Ibid., p. 160

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 159

¹¹ Ibid., p. 160

¹² Shellard 2000, p. 17

¹³ *Hamlet*, by Shakespeare, Royal Lyceum Theatre, 7-11 September; *Les Fausses Confidences*, by Marivaux, Royal Lyceum Theatre, 6-10 September; *Baptiste*, Royal Lyceum Theatre, 6-10 September

Comédie-Française's visit to London in the same year,¹⁴ as well as by Bertolt Brecht's 'Gestus' and models of 'Method' acting from the US. He suggests that American musicals, such as *Oklahoma!*, which premiered in the UK at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1947, provoked 'more innovative ideas about stagecraft'; and argues that exposure to 'new types of play', with Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean Genet, Jean Anouilh and Eugène Ionesco on one side, and Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams on the other, 'provided a creative impulse that could not have been envisaged during the war'.¹⁵ Both Shellard and Hobson, then, tell a story of sudden 'revelation', engaging mostly with work from France and the US, and arguing for its impact on acting, scenography, and playwriting.

Rebellato's 1956 *And All That: The Making of Modern British Drama* offers a useful method for challenging narratives that reduce complicated historical processes to simple moments of 'revelation'. His monograph presents a compelling counter-reading to conventional histories of new writing on the post-War British stage, which orientate around the 1956 Royal Court premiere of *Look Back in Anger*. Rebellato provides close discourse analysis, pointing to the rhetorical devices that sustain the dominant historical readings, such as narratives of 'explosion' or 'revolution'. These methods could usefully be applied to Shellard and Hobson's construction of a 'revelation' with regard to international work on the post-War British stage. As Rebellato points out in relation to new writing, by defining an

¹⁴ *Le Misanthrope*, by Molière followed by *La Navette*, by Henri Becque, 11-16 October 1948; *Andromaque*, by Racine, followed by *Un caprice*, by Alfred de Musset, 18-23 October 1948; *Le Malade Imaginaire*, by Molière, followed by *Le Bouquet*, by Labiche, 25-30 October, Cambridge Theatre, London

¹⁵ Shellard 2000, p. 17

aspect of theatre culture as a 'revelation', 'the old era becomes exclusively characterized by the absence'¹⁶ of, in this case, international work.

Shellard and Hobson's discourse of 'foreign revelation' also asserts a problematic historiographic opposition between 'British' and 'Other' performance cultures. This chapter seeks to foreground the history of the international within the national and to contribute to the emergence of a discourse which highlights and celebrates Britain's connectedness with other countries, cultures, and languages. In this way, I align myself with Harvie's methodology in *Staging the UK*, where she identifies, explores, and ultimately subverts a historiographic opposition between 'British' and 'European' theatre. Harvie argues that this opposition has been maintained through 'a narrative which constructs British drama and theatre as uniquely and consistently literary'.¹⁷ She demonstrates how British theatre historiography concentrates overwhelmingly on plays and playwrights; how the artistic heritage of Shakespeare as national bard continues to shape British theatre culture; and how the material conditions of British theatre facilitate the production of plays. Harvie argues that the construction of British theatre as fundamentally literary 'diminishes attention to the ways in which British theatre is material – movements performed, scenographies designed, sounds produced, work done'¹⁸ and demonstrates how this construction 'corresponds with opposing clichés of European theatre and identities as more emotional and expressive'.¹⁹ To challenge these dominant

¹⁶ Rebellato, p. 4

¹⁷ Harvie 2005, p. 113

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 114

¹⁹ Ibid.

constructions, Harvie provides a survey of instances where post-War mainland European theatre has been introduced to and influenced British theatre, focusing in particular on Brecht in Britain; Daubeny's WTS; the RSC; The Edinburgh Festivals; Glasgow's Citizens Theatre and London's Gate Theatre; LIFT; Barbican International Theatre Events (BITE); the London International Mime Festival (LIMF); and the work of DV8 and Complicité. As this list demonstrates, Harvie's study focuses on a later period than those of Hobson and Shellard, considering the 1980s into the twenty-first century and touching only briefly on significant earlier events. However, I find her challenge to the predominantly literary focus of much British theatre history productive in relation to my extended consideration of the WTS, in which I trace its influence not only on playwriting and repertoire, but also on acting, directing, scenography, and other performance practices. Harvie aims to demonstrate

the creative scope of a healthily heterogeneous, miscegenated theatre genealogy and its benefits as a means of negotiating British identities not as distinct from European ones but precisely *as* – multiple and dynamic – European identities.²⁰

I see my work extending and perhaps challenging Harvie's in two respects: first, my focus is not primarily European and indeed I refute her claim that the WTS was 'Eurocentric', and second, Harvie's genealogy of mainland European influence begins with Brecht's visit in 1956, whereas mine stretches back further to the end of the nineteenth century.

²⁰ Ibid.

International Theatre on the Pre-War British Stage

In this section I explore the presence of international theatre on the pre-War British stage to challenge the narrative that there was a ‘foreign revelation’ after World War II and to complicate the common historiographic opposition between ‘British’ and ‘Other’ performance cultures. I will use the figure of Daubeney to focus my argument, demonstrating how his work extended traditions established as early as the nineteenth century; how he drew inspiration from the work of impresarios such as Charles Cochran²¹ and Sergei Diaghilev;²² and how his life and work intersected with the influential French director Michel Saint-Denis.²³ By using Daubeney as a lens through which to explore international theatre on the pre-War British stage, I simultaneously aim to position the WTS as a significant part of a diachronic process, the origins of which are elusive, but certainly extend back before the end of the Second World War.

Before the first WTS in 1964, Daubeney had an established reputation for bringing well-known ensemble companies to the British stage, most significantly the Berliner Ensemble in 1956, the Moscow Art Theatre in 1958, and the Comédie-Française in 1959.²⁴ I would suggest that Daubeney was continuing a tradition that was established in 1879 with the Comédie-Française’s first UK visit. The Comédie-Française had a six-week residency at the Gaiety Theatre in June and July, during which time they presented forty-two plays, of which sixteen were by classical

²¹ Charles B. Cochran, 1872-1951

²² Sergei Diaghilev, 1872-1929

²³ Michel Saint-Denis, 1897-1971

²⁴ For a full list of productions, companies and seasons presented by Peter Daubeney before the WTS, see Daubeney 1971, pp. 13-16

French dramatists and twenty-six were by modern ones.²⁵ Two years later, in 1881, the Saxe Meiningen troupe appeared at Drury Lane, performing *Wallensteins Lager*, by Friedrich Schiller; *Iphigenia auf Tauris*, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe; and *Preciosa*, by Pius Alexander Wolff. The Comédie-Française made a return visit in the late nineteenth century, playing at the Drury Lane Theatre in June and July 1893.²⁶

British audiences were thus no strangers to the Continent's best known ensemble companies and indeed ideas for a British national theatre were discursively produced through exposure to a range of theatre experiences, including European models. Cary M. Mazer argues that these early visits consolidated 'the idea of an English national theatre',²⁷ which had first been raised by the publisher Effingham Wilson in his pamphlet, *A House for Shakespeare: A Proposition for the Nation* in 1848. Marion O'Connor²⁸ and Louise Owen²⁹ also outline the impact the Comédie-Française's 1879 visit on poet Matthew Arnold, whose essay 'The French Play in London' added a further call for the establishment of a British National Theatre in the style of continental repertory theatres.³⁰ These early examples of visiting companies demonstrate that Daubeny was working in a pre-established tradition

²⁵ Marion O'Connor, 'William Poel', in Cary M. Mazer, *Great Shakespeareans Volume XV: Poel, Granville Barker, Guthrie, Wanamaker* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 7-54 (p. 11)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11

²⁷ Cary M. Mazer, 'H. Granville-Barker', in Mazer, p. 53

²⁸ O'Connor in Mazer, pp. 7-54

²⁹ Louise Owen, 'Theatrical Nationhood: Crisis on the National Stage', in Marilena Zaroulia and Philip Hager, eds, *Performances of Capitalism, Crises and Resistance: Inside/Outside Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp. 113-33

³⁰ O'Connor in Mazer, p. 11; Owen in Zaroulia and Hager, p. 118; Matthew Arnold, 'The French Play in London', *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 30 (1879), 228-43

and maintaining a pre-existing interest in continental forms of ensemble and state subsidy that dated back to at least the end of the nineteenth century.

Daubeney also positioned himself as part of a lineage of impresarios who brought a rich and varied repertoire of international work to the British stage during the first half of the twentieth century. First and most significantly, I would suggest that Daubeney's commitment to international work was shaped by his youthful encounter and subsequent friendship with the theatrical producer, Charles B. Cochran. Over the course of his career in the first half of the twentieth century, Cochran presented artists and works from Ireland, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia and the US on the British stage. He introduced actors and singers from France, Germany and Italy, including Sarah Bernhardt, Alice Delysia, Pierre Fresnay, Yvonne Printemps, Lucien and Sacha Guitry, Maurice Chevalier, Elizabeth Bergner, and Eleonora Duse;³¹ produced the premieres of plays by Luigi Pirandello,³² Eugene O'Neill,³³ and Sean O'Casey;³⁴ presented Max Reinhardt's *The Miracle* at Olympia in 1911,³⁵ as well as French plays in their original language and in translation at the Garrick and Pavilion Theatres;³⁶ and programmed a season of Russian ballet, directed by Sergei Diaghilev, which included flamenco performances by Spanish dancers.³⁷ On their first encounter at Cochran's offices, Daubeney recalls that 'to me, Cochran's name on the brass plate downstairs represented all the glamour and

³¹ Daubeney 1971, p. 37

³² Charles Graves, *The Cochran Story: A Biography of Sir Charles Blake Cochran, Kt* (London: W. H. Allen, 1951), p. 163

³³ *Anna Christie*, Strand Theatre, 1923

³⁴ *The Silver Tassie*, Apollo Theatre, 1929

³⁵ Graves, p. 39

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89, 97, 99

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95

adventure of the theatre'.³⁸ Cochran had a direct impact on the early stages of Daubeny's career, helping him secure Elizabeth Bergner for the part of Toinette in his production of *The Gay Invalid*, an adaption of Moliere's *Le Malade Imaginaire* at the Garrick Theatre in January 1951;³⁹ and suggesting that Daubeny bring the Spanish dancer Antonio to London.⁴⁰ Antonio, and his dance partner Rosario, performed at the Cambridge Theatre from November to December 1951, an enterprise which Daubeny suggests gave him 'the confidence necessary to face the risks of continuing at the Cambridge Theatre with a season of international dance companies'.⁴¹ Cochran was thus instrumental in giving Daubeny both the contacts and the confidence to launch his first prolonged season of visiting international productions.

After Cochran's death on 31 January 1951, Daubeny continued Cochran's legacy as an importer of international artists. He presented artists first introduced to the stage by Cochran, such as Sacha Guitry and Maurice Chevalier. Daubeny produced Guitry's *Ecoutez bien Messieurs* in the Winter Garden in June 1953⁴² and wrote a four-piece feature on him for *Plays and Players* between January and April 1954.⁴³ He presented Maurice Chevalier at the Palace Theatre in April 1955 and wrote three special articles on him for *Plays and Players* between Christmas 1954 and

³⁸ Daubeny 1971, p. 37

³⁹ Ibid., p. 13

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 117

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 124

⁴² Ibid., p. 14

⁴³ Peter Daubeny, 'A Visit to Sacha Guitry', *Plays and Players*, January 1954, p. 7; 'Guitry in Russia', *Plays and Players*, February 1954, pp. 7 and 9; 'Guitry's Wives', *Plays and Players*, March 1954, p. 6; 'Guitry in Prison', *Plays and Players*, April 1954, pp. 9 and 13

February 1955.⁴⁴ Daubeny also drew a direct genealogical links between Cochran and himself. In the programme for the visit of Jean Vilar's Théâtre National Populaire in 1956, Daubeny reprinted an article from *The Stage*, which read 'Mr. Daubeny is making sure that London sees the Continental giants of today, just as Cochran kept us up to date in the past'.⁴⁵ In his autobiography, Daubeny draws an explicit link between Cochran's work and the WTS, arguing that his presentation of *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden in 1912 'began a fresh revival of interest in Greek tragedy and which led ultimately to the exciting and dynamic productions of Karolos Koun'.⁴⁶ Daubeny presented Koun with his Greek Art Theatre at the WTS in 1964, 1965, 1967 and 1969.

To a lesser, but nevertheless significant extent, Daubeny admired and sought to emulate the achievements of Diaghilev, the ballet impresario and founder of the Ballets Russes. With his company, Diaghilev travelled extensively across Europe and North and South America between 1909 and 1929. Ballets Russes productions brought together dancers and choreographers, such as Michel Fokine, Vaslav Nijinsky, Léonide Massine, Bronislava Nijinska, and George Balanchine; with composers such as Igor Stravinsky, Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, and Sergei Prokofiev; and painters like Pablo Picasso, Natalia Goncharova, André Derain, and Henri Matisse. The resultant productions were described by Massine as 'complex spectacle' which contained and juxtaposed 'poetry, literature, painting, music and

⁴⁴ Peter Daubeny, 'The French Straw Hat', *Plays and Players*, December 1954, pp. 6 and 8; 'The Man She Loved', *Plays and Players*, January 1955, p. 8; 'Young as Ever', *Plays and Players*, February 1955, pp. 11 and 21

⁴⁵ Production File for *Dom Juan*, Palace Theatre, 1956, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁶ Daubeny 1971, p. 250

choreography'.⁴⁷ The company made its British debut at the Royal Opera House in June 1911 during the celebrations for the coronation of George V, and returned in 1912 and 1913. After World War I, the Ballet Russes performed in London regularly between 1919 and their final season in 1929.⁴⁸ In his autobiography, Daubeny reflects that Diaghilev's work achieved 'brilliant results' because 'he sought and found inspiration not from a narrow "national" outlook, but from the four corners of the world',⁴⁹ a principle which Daubeny himself first applied to dance and then later to theatre. The comparison between Diaghilev and Daubeny was made in a profile of Daubeny published in the *Observer* on 23 March 1973,⁵⁰ as well as by the actor Peter Ustinov in a BBC Radio 3 documentary about Daubeny's life and work, in which he said that Daubeny became 'a kind of Boswell of the entire theatre, he became an ambassador, and he became a Diaghilev'.⁵¹

Another formative pre-War influence on Daubeny was the French director Michel Saint-Denis, who eventually became his colleague at the RSC. Saint-Denis first came to London in 1928 with Jacques Copeau's touring production *L'illusion*, which was presented at the St. James's Theatre in November. He then returned with his own Compagnie des Quinze in 1931, described by Wardle as 'acrobats, mimes and

⁴⁷ Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 300

⁴⁸ For more information on Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes in London see: John Drummond, *Speaking of Diaghilev* (London: Faber & Faber, 1998) and <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/d/diaghilev-london-walk/> [accessed 24 March 2017]

⁴⁹ Daubeny 1971, p. 141

⁵⁰ Kenneth Tynan in John Lahr ed., *The Diaries of Kenneth Tynan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), p. 129

⁵¹ *A Man for All Theatres*, BBC Radio 3, 06 August 1980, British Library Sound Archive

musicians whose work enlarged the whole definition of acting'.⁵² The company presented two new plays by André Obey, *Noé* and *Le Viol de Lucrèce*, which transferred to the Ambassadors Theatre in 1932 and to the New Theatre in 1933. In 1934, Bronson Albery⁵³ and Charles Laughton⁵⁴ brought the company to the Globe Theatre with Obey's *Don Juan*, which Daubeney cites as his 'first direct contact with the French theatre'.⁵⁵ Later, Daubeney went on to study under Saint-Denis in the London Theatre Studio (LTS), which Saint-Denis co-founded with George Devine and Marius Goring in 1936.⁵⁶ Heavily influenced by the work of Copeau, Saint-Denis' teaching combined improvisation, mime, and mask exercises. Suria Magito taught alongside Saint-Denis and used Asian gongs and Noh masks in class,⁵⁷ representing the move to a particular post-colonial appropriation of Asian iconography that found one of its most famous expressions in Antonin Artaud's *Le Théâtre et son double*, published in 1938. Devine also taught the character mask at the LTS, as well as later at the Old Vic School and at the classes that he developed whilst Artistic Director at the Royal Court. When Saint-Denis joined Peter Hall's RSC in 1961, he was far from being a post-War 'revelation', but was rather, as Chambers argues, 'a bridge to a rich European tradition going back to the 1920s'.⁵⁸

Using Daubeney's influences as a focus, this brief account demonstrates that British theatre has a longstanding tradition of engaging with work from beyond its own

⁵² Irving Wardle, *The Theatres of George Devine* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1978), p. 44

⁵³ Bronson Albery (1881-1971) was English theatre director and impresario

⁵⁴ Charles Laughton (1899-1962) was an English actor, director, producer and screenwriter

⁵⁵ Daubeney 1971, p. 185

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 42. After the Second World War, Saint-Denis founded the Old Vic Theatre School with Devine which ran between 1947 and 1952

⁵⁷ Wardle 1978, p. 59

⁵⁸ Chambers 2004, p. 21

national borders and indeed that visiting companies directly influenced early conceptions of a British national theatre, thus imbedding the 'international' at the start of the quest for the 'national'.

International Theatre on the Post-War British Stage

In this section I consider Daubeny's work on the post-War British stage before the first WTS in 1964. I argue that a focus on his achievements contributes a new set of connections to the history of international theatre in the UK and to the 'theatrical epistemic community' outlined by Balme. I extend my consideration of dominant historical narratives about the post-War British stage to encompass the traditional opposition between a fusty and unadventurous West End and the experimental aims and progressive achievements of the English Stage Company (ESC), the RSC and the National Theatre (NT). My exploration of Daubeny's work as a West End producer problematizes this opposition, showcasing the work of a commercial producer taking enormous financial risk to bring international work to the British stage and having a demonstrable and significant impact on George Devine, Kenneth Tynan and Peter Hall, key figures in the shaping of the aims, ambitions, and working practices of the ESC, formed in 1955, the RSC, formed in 1961, and the NT, formed in 1963.

Key cultural commentators and practitioners were beginning to construct an opposition between a commercially-oriented, culturally conservative West End and culturally open off-West institutions as early as 1956. As Marowitz, Milne and Hale demonstrate, *Encore* magazine was already drawing 'a false but persuasive distinction' between 'the "kitchen sink" school (embracing the Royal Court group

and Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop) and the tea-tinkling bourgeois entertainments of Shaftesbury Avenue'.⁵⁹ In their volume *New Theatre Voices of the Fifties and Sixties: Selections from Encore Magazine 1956 – 1963*, Marowitz, Milne and Hale reproduce articles that exemplify this discourse of discontent with the prevailing theatrical forms and look to models from abroad as alternatives.⁶⁰ Lindsay Anderson criticised the prevailing 'economic and social framework... of the West End, upper-class theatre', which he described as 'corrupt and killing',⁶¹ and held 'the high polish of the Berliner Ensemble'⁶² up as model. David Watt accused the West End of being upper-class, causing the English theatre to present 'an out-dated picture of the way English society works'.⁶³ He commented on Arthur Miller's presentation of 'the common man'⁶⁴ in *A View from the Bridge* as a model and praised the ESC's production of Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* for presenting a 'acutely class-conscious play' that reached a new audience of 'lower middle-class intelligentsia whose frustrations and bayings were reflected in the play'.⁶⁵ Tom Milne argued that the ESC, Theatre Workshop and the Arts Theatre Club had 'the only management interested in good theatre before good box office'⁶⁶ and called on the ESC to take their achievements a step further by establishing a permanent

⁵⁹ Charles Marowitz, Tom Milne, Owen Hale, *New Theatre Voices of the Fifties and Sixties: Selections from Encore Magazine 1956 – 1963* (London: Methuen & Co, 1981), p. 39

⁶⁰ Lindsay Anderson, 'Vital Theatre?', November 1957, pp. 41-47; Edwin Morgan, 'That Uncertain Feeling', May 1958, pp. 52-56; David Watt, 'Class Report', September 1957, pp. 56-62; Tom Milne, 'Taking Stock at the Royal Court', May 1958, pp.62-67; Peter Brook, 'Oh for Empty Seats!', January 1959, pp. 68-74

⁶¹ Anderson in Marowitz, Milne and Hale, p. 46

⁶² Ibid., p. 45

⁶³ Watt in Marowitz, Milne and Hale, p. 59

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 58

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 59

⁶⁶ Milne in Marowitz, Milne and Hale, p. 62

company and a repertory season. Finally, Peter Brook, speaking from the position of a West End director, suggested their suspicions that the West End theatre is the obstacle to the emergence of a new theatre 'are partly true',⁶⁷ and called for subsidy so that English theatres could match in quality what he identified as 'the most exciting theatres in Europe',⁶⁸ which included the Théâtre National Populaire, the Komische Oper in Berlin, the Berliner Ensemble, Martha Graham, and the Moscow Arts Company.

This opposition has been perpetuated in much post-War British theatre scholarship. Shellard structures his argument around the notion that the West End was characterized by,

stratification of the theatre through class, the plethora of productions of Shakespeare, the continued dominance of H.M. Tennent's, the obsession with French plays and the avoidance of matters political.⁶⁹

He goes on to posit a 'cure',⁷⁰ which he argues came from the Arts Theatre,⁷¹ particularly the premieres of *The Lesson* and *Waiting for Godot*; the ESC; Theatre Workshop; Brecht; Pinter; The Royal Court and Arnold Wesker; Theatre in Education; and finally the RSC. Billington constructs similar oppositions in *State of the Nation: British Theatre since 1945*, suggesting that there were two opposing camps in 1948: on the one hand 'there were those who saw the chance to create a new kind of theatre in a post-War Britain' and on the other 'there were those anxious for a return to the status quo'.⁷² He continues that,

⁶⁷ Brook in Marowitz, Milne and Hale, p. 68

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 71

⁶⁹ Shellard 2000, p. 34

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 36

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 37

⁷² Billington 2007, p. 8

the battle could be crystallised as a conflict between an institution and an individual: between the Old Vic and Hugh (Binkie) Beaumont, managing director of the dominant producing firm of the day, H. M. Tennent Ltd.⁷³

Later, when discussing theatre in 1956, he again defines theatre as,

split into opposing camps... the West End went on pumping out right-wing propaganda and peddling cosy reassurance. At the same time, a radical generation, principally though not exclusively young, acquired a new militancy and authority.⁷⁴

He argues that two key events exposed these cultural divisions: first, the establishment of the ESC at the Royal Court and second, the visit of the Berliner Ensemble to the Palace Theatre in August.

Rebellato challenges the traditionalist opposition between the West End and Off West End through his materialist analysis of the structures of ownership in the post-War theatrical landscape. He provides an analysis of the history of the Committee for Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA)⁷⁵ and the actions of its first Chair, John Maynard Keynes, which demonstrates that the funding structure underpinning the ESC 'was a product of a history in which the West End played a vital, productive part'.⁷⁶ Rebellato concludes that 'without the West End, Keynes may not have been able to push through his agenda. And without that, the Royal Court may not have happened'.⁷⁷ Through his analysis of the material conditions of London theatre in the period, Rebellato demonstrates that more 'progressive' nascent institutions owed much to the West End in terms of CEMA funding strategies and ambitions.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 93

⁷⁵ CEMA became the Arts Council in 1946

⁷⁶ Rebellato, p. 69

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Like Rebellato, I intend to destabilise the opposition between West End and Off West End in post-War British theatre history. Daubeny's achievements as a West End producer directly contradict the image of a culturally conservative, risk-averse West End. Further, institutions such as the ESC, RSC, and NT owe much to the fact that Daubeny gave visibility to ensemble working practices and subsidised theatre models on West End stages. Between 1951 and the first WTS in 1964, Daubeny organised international seasons, programming dance, opera and film, as well as thirteen visits from international theatre companies, from France, East Germany, China, Russia, Sweden, the US, Ireland, and Italy.⁷⁸ These companies were presented at a variety of West End theatres. They were grouped together as seasons when Daubeny leased the Palace Theatre for two years between 1956 and 1957 and the Princes Theatre in 1959. In 1963, Daubeny presented a season at the Aldwych Theatre, which he described as a 'try-out year for the World Theatre Season'.⁷⁹ Michael White has suggested that the scale and ambition of these seasons represented significant risk to Daubeny as a commercial producer. White worked as Daubeny's Personal Assistant in the late 1950s and early 1960s and subsequently developed a prolific career as a commercial producer. I would suggest that he is thus well-positioned to understand the risks involved. White recalls,

Peter financed everything himself at terrific risk, borrowing money from moneylenders at killing rates and getting into the most appalling tight corners. There was never enough money. Indeed he was regularly in the red.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For a full list of productions, companies and seasons presented by Peter Daubeny before the WTS, see Daubeny 1971, pp. 13-16

⁷⁹ Daubeny 1971, p. 206

⁸⁰ Michael White, *The Last Impresario* (London: Bedford Square Books, 1984), p. 20

White goes on to explain that the costs of bringing companies to the UK were high and that it was never possible to sell enough seats to cover these costs. He recalls how 'Peter would take the risk initially by offering a guarantee' but that 'he would have to try to get whichever country the company represented to subsidise its visit'.⁸¹ This demonstrates the emergence of a financial model that Daubeny would employ for the WTS, and which will be explored in more detail in the second half of the chapter.

Daubeny's regular presentation of companies from abroad translated into regular visibility in the press, cultivating audiences for international work and support for ensemble working practices and subsidy. When Daubeny brought his first visiting theatre company over in 1955, *The Times* reviewer wrote, 'We see on the whole so little of first-rate foreign playing on the London stage that our international scale of acting values tends to rest wholly on the cinema'.⁸² By 1959, Milton Shulman reflected in the *Evening Standard*, 'The world's classics in foreign languages has now become a common experience in the West End'.⁸³ In his role as critic for the *Observer*, Tynan was among the highest profile figures to champion these companies and their working practices. He wrote a lengthy piece in response to the Berliner Ensemble's first visit, which explained his understanding of Brecht's dramaturgy in relation to the productions and argued for its transformative potential on the British stage.⁸⁴ When Daubeny brought the Moscow Art Theatre to

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 21

⁸² Press cutting, Production File for *La Dame aux Camélias*, Duke of York's Theatre, 1955, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸³ Press cutting, Production File for *Urfaust*, Prince's Theatre, 1959, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁴ Shellard 2007, pp. 123-25

Sadler's Wells Theatre in a production of *The Cherry Orchard* in 1958, Tynan argued it blew 'the cobwebs off the play' and instructed his readers not to be 'deterred by the language barrier'.⁸⁵ Elsewhere, reviews often married praise with reflections on the value of public subsidy. In a review of the Théâtre National Populaire's production *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* at the Palace Theatre in 1956, the *Daily Mail* praised the company's 'impeccable' performance and described it as 'to some extent, France's Old Vic' but qualified this by saying 'it benefits from an annual subsidy of £54,000'.⁸⁶ Similarly in *The Times* review of the Berliner Ensemble's *Trumpets and Drums*, the critic wrote, 'we may well sigh for theatrical conditions in which an English company could attain to the same pitch of team acting at once flexible and precise'.⁸⁷ I would suggest Daubeny's work in the West End pre-WTS cultivated a base of critical endorsement from opinion formers, which gave visibility to ensemble working practices and subsidy and helped lay the groundwork for the emergence of the WTS.

The companies were also held up as models by some of the most significant theatre practitioners of the time. When Tynan became the NT's first dramaturg he continued to champion international companies and drew on their working practices to shape his vision for the NT. Tynan made a speech to the Royal Society

⁸⁵ Kenneth Tynan, 'The Moscow Broom', *Observer*, 18 May 1958. Press cutting, Production File for *The Cherry Orchard*, Palace Theatre, 1958, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁶ M.J., 'It's a Triumph of Gallic Charm', *Daily Mail*, 17 April 1956. Press cutting, Production File for *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, Palace Theatre, 1956, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁷ Anonymous, 'Berliner Ensemble: Trumpets and Drums', *The Times*, 30 August 1956. Press cutting, Production File for *Trumpets and Drums*, Palace Theatre, 1956, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

of Arts in 1964, in which he justified the need for a state subsidised National Theatre through extensive comparisons to theatrical traditions elsewhere in Europe, many of which had recently been brought to the British stage by Daubeny. He evoked 'British backwardness'⁸⁸ by observing that state subsidy for the Comédie Française and for theatre in the German city states stretched back to the nineteenth century. He argued that,

the very idea that good theatre should be required to show a profit would seem indecent in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Norway, Russia, Italy, both the Germanies and France.⁸⁹

When outlining the NT's ambitions to 'present to the public the widest possible selection of good plays from all periods and places',⁹⁰ he likened it to the experience offered by the Schiller Theatre in West Berlin and the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm. He suggested that the idea of subsidy offers 'what commercialism negates: the idea of continuity and the guarantee of permanence',⁹¹ and drew on the Moscow Art Theatre as an example, citing how plays by Chekhov and Gorky stay in the repertoire for years and suggesting that in this way 'each new generation of playgoers is kept in touch with history'.⁹² He also argued for an expansion of theatre subsidy beyond the NT, expressing hope that this represented 'the beginning of a chain reaction that will set up a national grid of subsidised theatres in London and in every provincial centre'.⁹³ With reference to what he

⁸⁸ Tynan in Shellard 2007, p. 237

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 238

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 243

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 238

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., p.239-40

described as the NT's 'friendly rivals', Tynan advocated for increased public subsidy for the RSC, suggesting that,

the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company should be able to live side by side in the same kind of relationship as that which exists between the Comédie Française and Jean-Louis Barrault's Théâtre de France.⁹⁴

Tynan was realizing what Matthew Arnold had first articulated almost a century previously, a national theatre inspired by international theatre models.

European theatre practices were also held up as a model by George Devine at the ESC. As Aston, O'Thomas and Wardle have noted, the values of public subsidy, and the ensemble and repertory working practices that it facilitates, were a top priority for Devine and shaped the early aims and ambitions of the company. Devine was a particularly fervent admirer of the Berliner Ensemble and a champion of Brecht's work before Daubeny brought the Berliner Ensemble to the Palace Theatre in 1956, having spent time at the company's Hebbel Theatre in East Berlin while on tour with a production of *King Lear* in 1955. He wrote an article for *Encore* magazine in April 1956, in which he described the Berliner Ensemble productions as 'achieved with much time and care'⁹⁵ and positioned them against their hurried and under-rehearsed counterparts in the British theatre. When Daubeny brought the company to London in 1956, Devine offered material support, hosting an evening reception for them at the Royal Court. The visit also directly facilitated creative collaboration between the ESC and the Berliner Ensemble. Immediately after the run, Helene Weigel spent a week working alongside Devine on rehearsals for *The Good Woman*

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 240

⁹⁵ Marowitz, Milne and Hale, p. 15

of *Setzuan*, which opened at the Royal Court with Peggy Ashcroft as Shen Te in October 1956.⁹⁶ Wardle details that Brecht's composer, Paul Dessau, was also present in rehearsal and that Brecht's designer, Teo Otto, 'dispatched sketches and handwritten German notes from East Berlin'.⁹⁷

Peter Hall was similarly, and perhaps most significantly, influenced by the companies brought over by Daubeny, which I would argue shaped his vision for the RSC. Hall writes in his autobiography that his vision for establishing an ensemble at Stratford had been shaped by,

my reading of Stanislavsky; my obsession with Jean Vilar's TNP (Théâtre National Populaire) and the Barrault/Renaud Company; my talks with Michel Saint-Denis; my study of the Berliner Ensemble.⁹⁸

This is corroborated by Tim Pigott-Smith, an RSC actor between 1972 and 1974, who recalled that 'there was a sense that here was an expression of European influence because the RSC was founded on the back of tours by the Berliner Ensemble'.⁹⁹ Hall's investment in these European working practices translated into material and artistic investment in international work from the outset at the RSC. Hall introduced three-year contracts for actors, establishing a repertory company in the vein of the Comédie-Française or the Berliner Ensemble. This commitment was also reflected in his choice of Brook and Saint-Denis as his associate directors. Brook already had an impressive record directing international work on the West End, including *Ring Round the Moon*, by Jean Anouilh at the Globe Theatre in

⁹⁶ Wardle 1978, pp. 169-70

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 185

⁹⁸ Peter Hall, *The Autobiography of Peter Hall: Making an Exhibition of Myself* (London: Oberon Books Ltd, 2000), p. 156

⁹⁹ Tim Piggott-Smith, Interview with Author, 26 March 2015

1950.¹⁰⁰ Hall observes in his autobiography that ‘Peter [Brook] constantly fed European thought into the RSC’,¹⁰¹ citing the influence of the Polish scholar Jan Kott on his production of *King Lear*; his exploration of Artaud in his ‘Theatre of Cruelty’ season at the London Academy of Music and Drama (LAMDA); and his work with Jerzy Grotowski. As explored earlier in this chapter, Saint-Denis represented a link to international work that stretched back to the 1930s. In his role as Associate Director at the RSC, Saint-Denis was given a studio space in Stratford for experimentation and training. His training had an emphasis on ‘acquaintance with works representing the main currents of the modern movement: from Stanislavsky to Gordon Craig and Brecht, and touching on the most valuable aspects of the Theatre of the Absurd and of present realism’.¹⁰² Thus under the guidance of Saint-Denis, RSC actors, following on from those at the LTS before them, were exposed to a confluence of influences, developing a style in conversation with the most important European theatrical movements of the day. This commitment to international work was also evident in the company’s repertoire from the first season at the Aldwych Theatre in 1961,¹⁰³ which featured the British premieres of Anouilh’s *Becket*, Giraudoux’s *Ondine*, and a production of Chekhov’s *The Cherry Orchard*. Hall argues that the programming of modern European works was essential to infusing Shakespeare productions with a sensibility of ‘Now’¹⁰⁴ and thus

¹⁰⁰ For a full list of productions see Michael Kustow, *Peter Brook: A Biography* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd, 2005), pp. 307–9

¹⁰¹ Hall 2000, p. 206

¹⁰² Michel Saint-Denis, ‘A Studio for Experiment and Training’, RSC Pamphlet *Crucial Years* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1963), p. 24

¹⁰³ The Aldwych Theatre was the RSC’s London base between 1961 and 1982. Thereafter the company relocated to the Barbican

¹⁰⁴ Hall in Chambers 2004, p. 31

positioned the RSC within and as part of continental European theatre.

Hall's commitment to internationalism is mostly clearly manifest in his collaboration with Daubeney. This began in 1963, with a season of visiting companies at the Aldwych Theatre, the afore-mentioned 'try-out year' for the WTS.¹⁰⁵ The inauguration of the WTS the following year is described by Chambers as 'the most public affirmation of this proclivity'.¹⁰⁶ The first WTS was announced in an RSC-issued press release as part of the company's celebrations for the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, which also included a three-month London Shakespeare Season at the Aldwych; a sixteen-week tour of European Iron Curtain countries, North America, and Canada; Brook's Theatre of Cruelty season at LAMDA; and a series of other non-Shakespeare plays by Christopher Marlowe, Jean Genet, Georg Büchner, Harold Pinter, and August Strindberg.¹⁰⁷ The WTS subsequently became an annual event, embedded in the RSC's wider artistic programme. Hall firmly rooted the national playwright, Shakespeare, and by association, the RSC, in an international theatrical context, and drew on the expertise of Daubeney to facilitate this. In a BBC Radio 3 documentary about Daubeney, Hall noted that 'as Director of the Royal Shakespeare Company opening at the Aldwych, I was having dreams that we ought to have foreign companies visit us and there was only one man you could turn to for advice to do such a thing and

¹⁰⁵ Micheál Mac Liammóir WTS, *The Importance of Being Oscar* and *I Must Be Talking to My Friends*, April – May; Vittorio Gassman and his Teatro Popolare Italiano, *The Heroes*, May. Daubeney 1971, p. 16

¹⁰⁶ Chambers 2004, p. 129

¹⁰⁷ Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

that was Peter Daubeney'.¹⁰⁸ Daubeney's work pre-WTS thus directly facilitated the context in which the WTS could emerge as part of the RSC's wider artistic programme.

Daubeney's work as a commercial producer on the post-War British stage gave prominent visibility to international theatre companies and their working practices. First, I argue that the presence of these companies on London's West End troubles the image of the West End as culturally closed and commercially-motivated. Not only was Daubeney bringing international work to the London stage with unprecedented regularity, but he was also doing so at great financial risk, in direct contradiction to accusations that the West End was only interested in box office profit. Second, I suggest that his achievements problematize the historiographic opposition between a culturally conservative West End and nascent institutions, such as the ESC, the NT, and the RSC. Daubeney's work as a West End producer gave weight to models of ensemble and state subsidized theatre, which fed directly into Devine, Tynan and Hall's vision for their respective companies. As White observed, 'in a way, a commercial management like Peter's had helped its opposition'.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, I argue that Daubeney had a largely unrecognized role in the consolidation of the idea of subsidy and ensemble working practices in the UK, something which the WTS continued to legitimize. Third, I suggest that Daubeney's pre-WTS work created the context in which the WTS was possible. By improving the visibility of international work, Daubeney developed audiences and discourses, contributing to

¹⁰⁸ *A Man for All Theatres*, BBC Radio 3, 06 August 1980, British Library Sound Archive

¹⁰⁹ White, p. 30

some level of normalization of international theatre on the London stage. As I will go on to discuss, he also created the context in a material way, building the contacts, knowledge, and experience to pull off a season on the scale of the WTS.

The World of the World Theatre Season

In the first part of this chapter, I used the figure of Daubeny as a lens through which to re-evaluate histories of international theatre on the post-War British stage. I will now turn to detailed consideration of the WTS as an institution. I begin by outlining how the WTS has been characterised by previous scholarly accounts. I will then offer my own analysis, employing a materialist approach which is concerned with establishing the material conditions that shaped the production and reception of visiting companies at the WTS. A wide variety of factors framed, contained and contributed to the ways in which WTS audiences understood the visiting theatrical productions and a consideration of these factors and the potential meanings they produce is essential to my assessment of the WTS's influence and legacy. In the case study chapters this analysis of the institutional context will be read alongside the 'raw theatrical event' of individual productions and will ultimately inform my conclusions about the cultural and ideological work undertaken by the WTS within the wider theatrical landscape of 1960s and 1970s London, and the legacy of this work on the British stage.

This project represents the first academic study to consider the WTS at length. The WTS does, however, feature in a number of accounts of British theatre history. The

earliest of these, *Drama in Britain: 1964 – 1973*, by J. W. Lambert,¹¹⁰ was commissioned by the British Council and published in 1974.¹¹¹ Lambert dedicates a chapter of his study to ‘Visitors from Overseas’, of which one paragraph discusses the WTS. He offers a comprehensive list of the home cities and countries of the represented companies between 1964 and 1973. Given the date of publication, his study does not include the final WTS in 1975. Lambert suggests that the WTS’s regularity was a key factor for its impact on British performance culture, reflecting ‘this recurring Babel has had far more effect than any of the stray visits which came our way before, except that of the Berliner Ensemble’.¹¹² He argues that the WTS’s influence is apparent in three areas. First, ‘in the enlargement of repertoire’; second, in ‘the British actor’s ever-increasing readiness to act with his whole body’; and third, and Lambert suggests most importantly, it has had an impact ‘in social terms’. Lambert goes on to detail,

we began to feel imaginatively, rather than note objectively, things that were important to other peoples – whether matters emotional or matters political or religious. Naturally some visiting productions failed to communicate at all; others gave us all the stimulus we should expect from fine plays excitingly acted; yet others – and those the best, though not always gaining the most *réclame* – expanded not only our theatrical horizons but our emotional sympathies.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ J. W. Lambert (1917-1986) worked for many years as Literary and Arts Editor of the *Sunday Times*. He also served as Chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain Drama Panel; on the Board of Management of the British Theatre Association and of the Council of Royal Academy of Dramatic Art; as a member of the British Council Drama Advisory Committee and of the Drogheda Committee of London Theatres; and was director of the Theatre Investment Fund

¹¹¹ This book is a continuation of the British Council’s surveys of the British Theatre which began in 1947 with Robert Speaight’s *Drama since 1939* and J. C. Trewin’s two publications spanning the periods from 1945 to 1950 and from 1951 to 1964

¹¹² J. W. Lambert, *Drama in Britain: 1964 – 1973* (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd, 1974), p. 47

¹¹³ Lambert, p. 47

Lambert does not back up his claims with concrete evidence, but his observations, written at the time of the WTS, provided useful points of departure for my own research and will be substantiated in relation to my chosen case studies.

Later histories of the post-War British stage to include the WTS in their narrative include Shellard's *British Theatre Since the War*, Rebellato's *1956 and All That*, Harvie's *Staging the UK* and Chambers' *Inside the Royal Shakespeare Company*. It is, however, rarely more than a footnote¹¹⁴ and any consideration tends to distort its achievements. Shellard only discusses the initial 1964 WTS and points his readers to Daubeny's 20-year old autobiography, *My World of Theatre*, for further information. His main claim to the significance of the WTS is that it 'did much to break down the parochialism of the West End',¹¹⁵ which I suggest overlooks the RSC institutional framework within which the WTS was presented. Rebellato positions the WTS as 'European' within his wider argument for the widespread influence of European drama on the post-War British stage. He writes, 'when Peter Daubeny and others began bringing European companies to Britain as part of the 'World Theatre' seasons, the influence became even more direct'.¹¹⁶ In *Inside the Royal Shakespeare Company*, Chambers equally characterizes the WTS as a 'European' enterprise, positioning it as a key part of the RSC's engagement with Continental European theatre. In her analysis of the WTS in *Staging the UK*, Harvie argues that 'the 'world' presented by Daubeny's World Theatre Season was unquestionably 'Eurocentric',¹¹⁷ yet presents the breadth of WTS programming more accurately

¹¹⁴ It is omitted entirely by Michael Billington in *State of the Nation: British Theatre since 1954*

¹¹⁵ Shellard 2000, p. 73

¹¹⁶ Rebellato, p. 128

¹¹⁷ Harvie 2005, p. 121

than Shellard, Rebellato or Chambers. She splits countries represented into 'Western Europe (France, West Germany, Italy, Ireland, Greece, Sweden, Spain)'; 'Eastern Europe (Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Turkey), the USA, the Middle East (Israel), and East Asia (Japan)'.¹¹⁸ This is a relatively comprehensive list of represented countries, but is problematic in two key ways. First, it employs disputable categorisations, such as placing Turkey in Eastern Europe or Spain in Western Europe,¹¹⁹ and second, it misses out Austria, Belgium, and perhaps more significant in terms of problematizing the characterisation of Eurocentrism, India, South Africa, and Uganda. I would question the application of the term 'Eurocentric' in this context and suggest that it gives a 'present-minded answer'¹²⁰ to a historical question. Twenty-first century Europe is very different to Europe between 1964 and 1975 and I would argue that the WTS expanded understandings of what 'Europe' was, by extending the scope of its programming to theatre cultures that had never been represented on the British stage and with whom cultural exchange was limited for geopolitical reasons. In Chapter Two I unpick this in relation to the Núria Espert Company from Spain, which significantly expanded understandings of Spanish culture in the UK at a time when Spain was effectively positioned at the margins of Europe as a military dictatorship. In Chapter Three, I consider the Polish and Czech companies who came to the WTS, at a time when relations between the UK and Eastern Europe were limited by the Cold War. Finally,

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ I explore Spain's marginalized position within Europe under Franco's dictatorship in Chapter Two

¹²⁰ Burke, p. 2

in Chapter Four, I consider companies from the US and South Africa, demonstrating how WTS programming extended beyond Europe.

Before I transition into detailed analysis of my chosen case studies, I will provide the institutional context within which these companies performed and were received. The following materialist analysis of the WTS aims to explore the conditions of production and reception at the WTS, through consideration of space, institutional structures and practices, finances and public discourse.

Space

Knowles understands that 'space itself exerts its influence, silently inscribing or disrupting specific (and ideologically coded) ways of working, for practitioners, and of seeing and understanding, for audiences'.¹²¹ I will outline the kinds of spaces that framed practitioner and audience experience at the WTS, including London as host city, the geographical location of the Aldwych Theatre within the urban landscape, and the architectural frame of the theatre, including the building façade, front-of-house areas, the auditorium and the stage.

London as host city had significant implications for conditions of production and reception at the WTS. The cultural capital of London directly facilitated a project of WTS scale and ambition. The cultural cachet of an appearance on the London stage meant that the WTS could host a large variety of theatre companies and at relatively low cost. David Rees recalled that 'the fees we paid, even then, were

¹²¹ Knowles 2004, pp. 62-63

peanuts really, but the companies wanted to come to London'.¹²² This suggests that Daubeny and his team used the draw of London to drive their own costs down, a model which Daubeny employed as an independent producer before the WTS. In terms of conditions of production, then, there was a large financial burden on the visiting companies. The implications of this intersection between space and economics will be explored in more detail in the section on finances below.

The combination of the global and the local in London was also key to the viability of international projects such as the WTS. As a capital city, and one that was once at the centre of an expansive Empire, London had global diplomatic connections and a diverse demographic. In *Theatre & the City*, Harvie argues that 'theatre is *part of* urban process, producing urban experience and thereby producing the city itself'¹²³ [emphasis in the original]. The WTS was facilitated by London's global position, whilst simultaneously *producing* the experience of the global within urban experience. Audiences gathering in the same time and material space of a WTS production represented an act that was both global and local; it was act of exchange which celebrated difference and recognised the potential for theatre to be shared across borders. Although there is little concrete evidence about WTS audience demographics, a combination of interview testimony and archival press cuttings leads me to conclude that the it attracted a combination of theatre enthusiasts, practitioners, students and London-based citizens of the countries

¹²² David Rees, Interview with Author, 12 January 2015

¹²³ Harvie 2009, p. 7

represented on stage. Both Billington and Wardle attested to this combination.¹²⁴

Billington referred to the 'legend about the immigrant audiences', which he argued contained 'a certain amount of truth'. I have traced this to an article written by Wardle for *The Times* in May 1966, which reads,

Aldwych audiences are drawn from three groups: the local immigrant community, theatrical specialists, and the general public. And to judge from the first night attendance over the last two years, the most loyal support comes from the immigrants.¹²⁵

Daubeny wrote a response in *The Times* five days later, in which he claimed that Wardle was mistaken and that 'by far the biggest supporters of the World Theatre Seasons are young London playgoers'.¹²⁶ Although Daubeny's rejoinder was framed in such a way as to reinforce the WTS's relevance to young British audiences and dismiss the idea that the productions only held relevance to people who shared the companies' nationality, this conversation usefully reveals that WTS audiences produced an experience that was both global and local and which was unique to the urban experience of London.

The specific geographical location of the Aldwych Theatre within the urban landscape of London also produced a particular ideological frame for the WTS. The venue occupies a central location in London's West End, which Molly Daubeny cites as an important factor for the WTS's success.¹²⁷ As Harvie suggests, this location

¹²⁴ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014; Irving Wardle, Interview with Author, 12 March 2014

¹²⁵ Irving Wardle, 'World Theatre Season's lasting rewards', *The Times*, 09 May 1966. Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁶ Peter Daubeny, *The Times*, 14 May 1966. Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁷ Molly Daubeny, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

bestows upon the theatre 'values of social legitimacy'.¹²⁸ As opposed to theatres located on the margins of the city, which may cultivate outsider, radical identities, its West End location facilitated what Rees described as the WTS's 'glamorous' identity.¹²⁹ Although the theatre occupied a central location on London's West End, the Aldwych was also the RSC's London home. As such, the WTS was associated with what Hobson described as 'the most alert and exploratory theatrical organisation in Britain'.¹³⁰ Rees recalled that this association 'meant something to visiting companies'.¹³¹ In terms of conditions of production and reception, then, the Aldwych's central location in the RSC's London home bestowed the WTS with a sense of prestige, a characteristic which was also maintained through the WTS's discourses and will be explored at greater length below.

The architecture of the Aldwych Theatre building framed productions within a particular Western European history and tradition. The theatre was designed as a pair with the Waldorf Theatre,¹³² in Edwardian Baroque style by W. G. R. Sprague and opened in 1905.¹³³ The building's façade is stone-faced in a classical style with pillars, and the foyer features a grand fireplace, stairs leading down to the stalls or up to the dress circle, the box office to the right of the entrance, and an open circle in the ceiling which links the first and the ground floor via a balcony. The

¹²⁸ Harvie 2009, p. 26

¹²⁹ David Rees, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

¹³⁰ Harold Hobson, 'The Aldwych Affair', *Sunday Times*, 30 August 1964. Press cutting, Production file for *Marat/Sade*, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹³¹ David Rees, Interview with Author, 12 January 2015

¹³² Now the Novello Theatre

¹³³ <http://www.theatretrust.org.uk/resources/theatres/show/1074-aldwych> [accessed 9 February 2017]

auditorium has plush red seating, two balconies and a gallery that is a rearward extension of the upper circle. There are boxes to the left and right of a proscenium stage. Chambers and Sally Beauman note that changes were made to the auditorium under the RSC's tenure. Chambers details that work was done 'to redesign and modernise the Aldwych to bring it as much into line with the Stratford theatre as possible'¹³⁴ and Beauman notes that the Aldwych stage was 'redesigned to match the new Stratford one', which she describes as having 'a rake, a new false proscenium arch, and an apron stage that jutted fourteen feet into the auditorium'.¹³⁵ Whilst the thrust configuration added by the company would have gone some way to disrupt the 'picture frame' of the proscenium, the audience/performer relationship engendered by this particular spatial configuration would have had a significant impact on conditions of production and reception at the WTS.

In his historical analysis of the proscenium stage, Knowles details the structural impact that proscenium arch staging has on audience configuration. He argues that the proscenium arch 'evolved specifically to inscribe and make manifest a particular monarchical, hierarchical social structure',¹³⁶ pointing to the fact that the best seat in the house was that of the king, prince, or duke and that the hierarchy of the court was then made manifest in the way the seating was organised around relative proximity to the aristocratic presence. The sense of hierarchy embedded in the

¹³⁴ Chambers 2004, p. 18

¹³⁵ Sally Beauman, *The Royal Shakespeare Company: A History of Ten Decades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 239

¹³⁶ Knowles 2004, p. 63

structure of the building perpetuated social and economic stratification at the WTS through graded ticket pricing. As is still common in theatres today, the most expensive tickets in the house were in the Stalls and Dress Circles, followed by the Upper Circle and the Box Seats. WTS audiences were thus spatially segregated according to how much they paid for their tickets, with higher paying customers afforded better views of the stage.

The proscenium arch also perpetuated historically-specific and ideologically-coded ways of seeing and watching theatre, which had an impact on the meaning-making of productions initially conceived outside of a Western European tradition. Knowles observes that the perspectivism that dictated the shape of the proscenium arch emerged in the same historical moment as the scientific method, Renaissance imperialism and the colonial project, humanist idealism, and the beginnings of the economic system that would develop into industrial capitalism. He argues that each of these systems,

positions the individual (European) human subject as the detached repository of knowledge, value, and (in both senses) 'perspective', superior to and separate from the value-free worlds of its objects of observation, consumption, or colonisation.¹³⁷

This set-up would have suited some companies better than others. Many of the visiting companies, such as the Comédie-Française and the Schiller Theater, were making theatre for similar spaces in a related Western European tradition. Others were creating theatre for very different spaces: companies such as the Noh Theatre from Japan, the Kathakali Drama Company from India, and the Natal Theatre

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 64

Workshop Company from South Africa. The Natal Theatre Workshop Company's production of *uMabatha*, for example, was originally performed in an open-air auditorium with a more fluid concept of performer-audience relations.¹³⁸ The relationship between the stage and the auditorium, created by the proscenium arch, facilitated limited audience/performer relationships. It might thus be argued that the meaning produced by the work of these companies was fundamentally altered as a result of the Aldwych stage, which positioned them as 'objects of observation, consumption, or colonisation'¹³⁹ in the environment of the proscenium arch auditorium. As I will go on to explore, particularly in relation to the Natal Theatre Workshop Company from South African in Chapter Four, this spatial context influenced the conditions of reception and had an impact on audience meaning-making processes.

The size of the Aldwych stage was often a constraining factor, limiting the potential impact of productions, as well as Daubeny's programming options. Michael Hallifax¹⁴⁰ notes in his autobiography that the stage was substantially smaller than the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford¹⁴¹ and Molly Daubeny detailed that companies would 'often be very worried because the Aldwych was so much smaller than their stages, and their sceneries were so enormous'.¹⁴² Hallifax writes about one such instance, detailing a trip he made with Molly and Peter Daubeny to

¹³⁸ Letter from Pieter Scholtz to Neil Mundy, 6 December 1971. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹³⁹ Knowles 2004, p. 64

¹⁴⁰ London Manager for the RSC at the Aldwych Theatre (1963-1966)

¹⁴¹ Michael Hallifax, *Let Me Set the Scene: Twenty Years at the Heart of British Theatre, 1956 to 1976* (Hanover, NH: Smith and Kraus, 2004), p. 135

¹⁴² *A Man for All Theatres*, BBC Radio 3, 06 August 1980, British Library Sound Archive

Prague in 1965 to discuss the practicalities of bringing over the Czech National Theatre's production of *The Insect Play*. He recalls that, of the two revolves that the original Czech setting required, only one could be accommodated on the Aldwych stage. He concludes that 'even the cut-down version of the setting had to be shoe-horned in, and because of that, all the magic was squeezed out'.¹⁴³ Daubeney details an occasion when the size of the stage limited his programming options. He recalls that he planned to bring over Giorgio Strehler's production of *The Giants of the Mountains*, but that 'the proscenium was too small for the massive iron curtain which, in Strehler's conception, came creaking down to crush the symbolic cart on which the travelling actors performed'.¹⁴⁴ There was one occasion when a WTS production took place in a different venue, Southwark Cathedral, which was large enough to contain the scale of the Cracow Sary Theatre's *Forefather's Eve*.¹⁴⁵

This analysis of the various spaces that contained practitioner and audience experience at the WTS reveals that space was both a productive and a challenging factor. On the one hand, the qualities of London as host city facilitated a diverse programme for diverse audiences; on the other, this diversity was contained within the same space and one which framed works from a variety of different traditions and performance cultures within a particular Western European tradition.

Institutional Structures and Practices

In this section I will establish the institutional framework of the WTS, by outlining the structure of the collaboration between the RSC, the WTS, and the Aldwych

¹⁴³ Halifax, p. 299

¹⁴⁴ Daubeney 1971, p. 223-24

¹⁴⁵ 8-12 April 1975

Theatre; ascertaining how this collaboration manifested itself in staffing and programming strategies; and exploring the impact of these structures and practices on conditions of production and reception at the WTS.

The WTS was firmly presented within the institutional framework of the RSC. The inaugural 1964 WTS was announced in an RSC-issued press release as part of the company's celebrations for Shakespeare 400th anniversary¹⁴⁶ and all the publicity material for the first and subsequent incarnations clearly states that the WTS was presented by the RSC. Daubeney was listed in all programmes as RSC Consultant Director and was paid a retainer of £500 by the company.¹⁴⁷ All WTS programmes contained pages dedicated to the RSC's forthcoming productions and to setting out the company's vision. Correspondence between Daubeney, Hall and Trevor Nunn in 1974 reveals that Daubeney and the WTS's association with the RSC was fiercely protected by the company. In his role as Artistic Director at the NT, Hall approached Nunn, now Artistic Director at the RSC, to ask whether Daubeney could advise the NT on international programming. In correspondence with Daubeney on the subject, Nunn wrote 'I would view with alarm any publicly declared relationship with the National Theatre which suggested to the world at large that the World Theatre Season was no longer associated with the RSC'.¹⁴⁸ Nunn then writes to Hall

¹⁴⁶ Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁴⁷ ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Trevor Nunn to Peter Daubeney, 13 February 1974. Box 22, Folder 2, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

proposing that 'if Peter does contribute advice, his credit clearly identifies him as a director of the RSC, and the Artistic Director of the RSC World Theatre Season'.¹⁴⁹

Despite the institutional affiliation with the RSC, staffing structures demonstrate that most of the organizational labour was conducted by a small team who worked out of the Daubeney household in Chester Square. The staffing structures took a few years to formalize. In the first year, Peter Daubeney was impresario of the WTS and handled the contracts. He retained a small administrative team but the individuals are not credited in WTS programmes. In 1966 WTS staffing began to formalize.

Daubeney employed his first full time member of staff, Mark Lynford, to act as Production Administrator for the WTS. In 1967, he has two Personal Assistants, Dena Hamlin and his son, Nicholas Daubeney. In 1968, Hamlin was replaced by Timothy Mason. In 1969, a Liaison Officer and a Secretary join the team, and this staffing structure remained in place until 1975: Peter Daubeney, Artistic Director, with a team comprising a Personal Assistant,¹⁵⁰ a Liaison Officer,¹⁵¹ and a Secretary.¹⁵² Garfield Roberts joined the team for the tenth anniversary WTS as Accountant in 1973 and, in 1975, when Daubeney was too ill to work, the staffing structure changed to accommodate this: David Rees became WTS Administrator, Peter Harlock oversaw Publicity, and Diana Bruce was employed as Liaison Stage Manager. In addition to the day to day running of the WTS, the Daubeney home was

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Timothy Mason, 1968-1969; Neil Mundy, 1970-1972; David Rees, 1973

¹⁵¹ Alastair James, 1965; Richard York, 1969; Eugene Gridneff, 1970; David Ayliff, 1971; David Rees, 1972; Robert Findlay, 1974; Philip Hoare, 1975. Diana Bruce was Liaison Stage Manager in 1975

¹⁵² Amanda Blackwell, 1969; Janet Carroll, 1970; Ann de Boursac, 1971; Joyce Nettles, 1972-1974; Caroline Daubeney, 1975

used as a venue for parties and receptions. Archival evidence and interview testimony suggests that Molly Daubeney played a significant role as host on these occasions. Billington recalls that Molly Daubeney was ‘the real diplomat, she was famous for hosting parties and for smoothing over any difficulties that might arise’.¹⁵³ Rees also observed her important role in networking, suggesting that she would make connections with the embassies by ‘having the Ambassadors for dinner, preceded by champagne’.¹⁵⁴ The critical role that Molly Daubeney played is highlighted by their son, Nicholas, who suggests that, ‘Daubeney couldn’t have done it without Molly’.¹⁵⁵ Terry Hands similarly suggests that ‘it’s difficult to think of Peter without Molly his wife’¹⁵⁶ and the actor, Trader Faulkner, who was a close friend of the family, described Peter and Molly as ‘a team’.¹⁵⁷ Alongside her role as host, she travelled extensively with Daubeney. In the latter years, when Daubeney was increasingly unwell and immobile, Molly Daubeney did the travelling solo and began to lead on certain projects. Rees recalls she was particularly instrumental in the visit of the Natal Theatre Workshop Company from her native South Africa, which is reflected in correspondence between Molly Daubeney and the company, the South African government, and various potential funders.¹⁵⁸ This testimony suggests that Molly Daubeney played an important and uncredited role in the organization of the WTS. Although the question of the underrepresentation of women is not one of this project’s key focuses, I take care to write Molly Daubeney

¹⁵³ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014

¹⁵⁴ David Rees, Interview with Author, 12 January 2015

¹⁵⁵ Nicholas Daubeney, Interview with Author, 08 April 2015

¹⁵⁶ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

¹⁵⁷ Trader Faulkner, Interview with Author, 18 March 2015

¹⁵⁸ Box 14, Folder 1 and 2, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

into my narrative where I have found evidence of her involvement and in my conclusion, I pay substantial attention to her labour in relation to the WTS's legacy, which she single-handedly carried forward after Daubeny's death in 1975.

The WTS team collaborated with RSC staff at the Aldwych Theatre on various aspects of production. Both Rees and Molly Daubeny mention working closely with Alf Davis¹⁵⁹ and his team, to plan the staging of each production. The WTS ran in repertory and the usual format would see a production run from Monday to Saturday for one or two weeks. Stage calls for the 1975 WTS suggest that the de-rig would start immediately after the last show on Saturday night. The get-in for the following show started on Sunday, running as late as necessary, and could continue into Monday if needed. On Monday, there would be a rehearsal for the translators, a dress rehearsal, and a photo call, before the show opened that evening.¹⁶⁰ All publicity, including programmes, handbills, press releases, posters, tickets and mail outs to mailing lists, was also handled by RSC staff at the Aldwych Theatre.

The simultaneous translation system was organized throughout by a freelancer, Kitty Black,¹⁶¹ who was listed separately in WTS programmes as Producer and Editor of Simultaneous Translation. Each company was required to submit two copies of

¹⁵⁹ Master Carpenter (1966-1970); Chief Stage Technician (1971-1975)

¹⁶⁰ THM/85/1, Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶¹ Kitty Black (1914-2006) was a play agent and translator who worked for HM Tennent Ltd and for the Company of Four at the Lyric Hammersmith. For more information on Black's life and work see: Eric Shorter, 'Kitty Black', *Guardian*, 13 February 2007 <<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/feb/13/guardianobituaries.artsobituaries>> [accessed 05 January 2017]

the script and, if possible, an oral recording of the production.¹⁶² Black managed a team of translators who would provide an English version of the script, and readers, usually bilingual actors, who would deliver a simultaneous interpretation of the dialogue on stage during performance. The 1964 programme details that two actors, a man and a woman, would watch the action on stage from 'a soundproof booth at the back of the stalls' and follow the dialogue through headphones. Their translation was then broadcast over a short-wave radio network 'through a loop aerial encircling the auditorium'. Audience members were equipped with a receiver, described in the programme as 'slim, elegant truncheons, about 12 ins. long, with an earphone at one end',¹⁶³ which were hired by the WTS from Multitone Electrics Ltd.

The geographical dislocation between the RSC staff at Aldwych Theatre and the WTS team in Chester Square is mirrored in the relative autonomy invested in Daubeny with regards to programming. Terry Hands, who ran the Aldwych Theatre between 1968 and 1969, said 'we all had great faith in Peter and Molly... if that's what they booked, if that was what was coming, it was up to us to make sure it happened'.¹⁶⁴ There is fragmented archival and oral history evidence which nevertheless suggests a level of joined up thinking between Daubeny and the RSC team. The WTS features on RSC Planning Committee agendas in 1967 and 1968¹⁶⁵ and there was a certain amount of correspondence about programming. In 1967

¹⁶² Letter from Timothy Mason to Otomar Krejča, 3 February 1969. Box 12, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁶³ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁴ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

¹⁶⁵ Box 19, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

Hall wrote a letter to Daubeny to congratulate him on programming the Japanese Noh Theatre;¹⁶⁶ in 1969 David Brierley wrote to Daubeny to say that Nunn, Hall and Peggy Ashcroft 'all felt that it would be a marvellous thing if Anna Magnani were able to pay a return visit to next year's World Theatre Season';¹⁶⁷ and in a letter to the South African Ambassador in 1970 Daubeny cites Nunn as the first person to draw his attention to the Natal Theatre Workshop Company's production of *uMabatha*.¹⁶⁸ In 1968 the RSC also discussed with Daubeny the possibility of a small laboratory theatre where experimental productions from the European avant-garde movement could be mounted, but this idea was shelved because neither the funds nor a suitable building were available.¹⁶⁹

There is also much evidence to suggest that Daubeny and the WTS fed into RSC programming strategies. In a letter to the Italian director Giorgio De Lullo, Hall wrote,

I was delighted to hear on Peter Daubeny's return about the discussions he had with you during his visit to Italy – not only about the appearance of your Company at the 1968 World Theatre Season, but also about the production that we would like you to do for the RSC next year.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Letter from Peter Hall to Peter Daubeny, 13 April 1967. Box 19, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁶⁷ Letter from David Brierley to Peter Daubeny, 17 July 1969. Box 22, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University. This return visit never happened due to financial reasons.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from Peter Daubeny to the South African Ambassador, 30 December 1970. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁶⁹ ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁰ Letter from Peter Hall to Giorgio Lullo, 29 March 1967. Box 19, Folder 3, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Centre, Boston University

This demonstrates that, in his role as Artistic Director of the WTS and Consultant Director at the RSC, Daubeny not only shaped the WTS programme but also contributed directly to the RSC's wider artistic programme. Another example is the Greek director Karolos Koun, who was invited to direct an RSC production of *Romeo and Juliet* at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1967 after his productions of *The Birds*, *The Persians* and *The Frogs* at the WTS in 1964, 1965 and 1967. In his autobiography, Daubeny writes, 'After Koun's first two successful visits to the WTS I had suggested to Peter Hall that he might be asked to do a major production for the RSC'.¹⁷¹ This was Koun's first production outside of Greece. Daubeny describes this production as 'a prime example of the cross-fertilization of creative ideas which the World Theatre Seasons have so often engendered'.¹⁷² Other examples of WTS influence on RSC programming include the Moscow Art Theatre's production of Gogol's *Dead Souls* at the 1964 WTS, which was followed by an RSC production of Gogol's *The Government Inspector* in 1966; the Polish Contemporary Theatre production of *What a Lovely Dream*, by Sławomir Mrożek at the 1964 WTS, which was followed by an RSC production of Mrożek's *Tango* at the Aldwych Theatre in 1966; Peter Brook's use of Noh techniques in his RSC production of *The Tempest*, after seeing the Noh Theatre of Japan at the 1967 WTS; and the Abbey Theatre's production of *The Shaughraun* at the 1968 WTS, which was followed by an RSC production of Boucicault's *London Assurance* in 1970.

¹⁷¹ Daubeny 1971, p. 244

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 245-46

I have not found evidence of a WTS manifesto but have drawn on fragmented information gleaned from a variety of sources to piece together Daubeny's programming practices, which provide insight into his aims and ambitions. The WTS programme was, as I have already noted in this chapter, shaped in part by Daubeny's pre-WTS experience as an impresario in dance and theatre. This is most clearly manifest in the many return visits by companies and practitioners that he had previously welcomed to the British stage, such as the Théâtre National Populaire; the Comédie-Française; the Compagnie Madeleine Renaud – Jean-Louis Barrault; the Moscow Art Theatre; and Ingmar Bergman. Daubeny had developed contacts in the cultural and diplomatic sectors in a wide variety of countries, including Ireland, France, Austria, Sweden, Spain, Italy, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Russia, Yugoslavia, China, India, the US, and Guinea and already had a working relationship with representative embassies in the UK, the British Council and the Foreign Office. I would suggest that Daubeny developed a practice of cultural diplomacy through his earlier experience as an impresario, which directly facilitated the WTS and shaped its institutional structures and practices.

Correspondence in the Peter Daubeny Collection reveals that Daubeny was in regular contact with ambassadors and cultural attachés, who often made suggestions and introduced Daubeny to theatre companies. Correspondence was particularly frequent with government representatives in countries who had little or no diplomatic relations with the UK. For example, in the case of Czechoslovakia, who were represented four times at the WTS, Daubeny worked closely with the Ambassador, Dr. M. Zemla, and the Czech Deputy Foreign Minister, Dr. M. Růžek, to

improve Anglo-Czech relations.¹⁷³ Daubeney was often hosted by governments when he travelled abroad. Following the success of the Noh Theatre at the WTS in 1967, Daubeney was invited by the Japanese Ministry of Education to visit Japan with a view to bringing the Bunraku Puppet Theatre, which came to the WTS the following year in 1968.¹⁷⁴ This practice of cultural diplomacy was reinforced by the presence of ambassadors and cultural attachés at the opening nights of their country's representative companies, often seated alongside a member of the British Royal Family, and also by the tradition of playing both the visiting and home national anthems on opening night.

Daubeney also worked closely with the British Council. His contact Mr. Close helped him secure permission from the Foreign Office to welcome the Greek Art Theatre in the wake of the Colonels' revolt in 1967.¹⁷⁵ The British Council also played a significant role as host to the companies during their time in London, organising sightseeing tours, receptions, and providing buses to shuttle companies to and from the Aldwych Theatre.¹⁷⁶ The diplomatic significance of Daubeney's work is reflected in the large number of honours bestowed on him by various countries.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Box 12, Folder 1; Box 14, Folder 2; Box 15, Folder 2, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁷⁴ Box 22, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁷⁵ Daubeney 1971, p. 246. There was a coup d'état in Greece led by a group of colonels on 21 April 1967, three weeks before the Greek Art Theatre were due to open at the WTS on 8 May (see Appendix)

¹⁷⁶ Box 12, Folder 1 and Box 18, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁷⁷ OBE, June 1961, UK; CBE, January 1967, UK; Legion of Honour, April 1957, France; Gold Cross of the Royal Order of King George I of Hellenes, July 1965, Greece; Cavalier of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic, July 1966, Italy; Gold Medal of Czechoslovakia, November 1967, Czechoslovakia; Order of Merit, September 1971, Germany; Commander

Daubeny's practice of travelling was a key part of his programming strategy. Molly Daubeny recalls that, 'no one came who hadn't been seen... that was, I think, one of the most important things'.¹⁷⁸ She recalls that they often travelled together to the Théâtre des Nations in Paris and Daubeny's autobiography confirms that this is where he first saw the Berliner Ensemble in 1954 and 1955;¹⁷⁹ where he first met Ingmar Bergman in 1959;¹⁸⁰ where he first saw Peppino De Filippo's *Metamorphoses of a Wandering Minstrel*;¹⁸¹ and Anna Magnani in *La Lupa*.¹⁸² The Théâtre des Nations proved a great source of inspiration for Daubeny, but also one of competition. Unlike the WTS, Paris' annual international theatre festival received high levels of public subsidy, which Bradby and Delgado argue enabled the festival 'to recognise theatres which were not subsidised or recognised in their home countries'.¹⁸³ Due to the financial constraints on the WTS, Daubeny never experienced the same levels of programming freedom enjoyed by the directors of the Théâtre des Nations. In a 'Memorandum' submitted to the Arts Council as part of an application for funding, Daubeny compared the WTS to the Théâtre des Nations, writing that visiting companies 'accept a comparatively small share of the box office takings... At the Paris 'Theatre des Nations' visitors require 100% of the box office proceeds'.¹⁸⁴ In the same document he estimated that each WTS 'is

of the Royal Order of Vasa, July 1974, Sweden. Box 19, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁷⁸ Molly Daubeny, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

¹⁷⁹ Daubeny 1971, p. 255

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 290

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 211

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 226

¹⁸³ Bradby and Delgado, p. 11

¹⁸⁴ 'Memorandum', ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

subsidized by the governments of the invited companies to a total in excess of £100,000'.¹⁸⁵ These conditions necessarily limited programming options at the WTS. The visiting companies had to be able to afford the costs involved, which normally meant inviting companies which could achieve substantial government subsidy. In the same document, Daubeney expressed a desire to expand the WTS to include the afore-mentioned laboratory theatre and compared this to the French government's additional support for the Studio 'Theatre Lab'.

Despite these financial restraints, the WTS took programming risks, introducing many companies previously unknown to UK audiences from countries that had very little or no previous presence on the British stage. Molly Daubeney recalls that that Daubeney developed certain strategies to help minimise risk. He would structure the programme, so that the WTS opened and closed with a famous company, such as the Comédie-Française or the Moscow Art Theatre. Molly Daubeney recalls that 'at the beginning it had to be an important company, and an important one in the last one and in between that you could put a totally unknown, like a company from Czechoslovakia or Poland'.¹⁸⁶ Each WTS had a mixture of well-known and lesser known companies, with the aim that the publicity and attention given to the famous companies might draw attention to the lesser known companies and offset any financial risk. Further, the WTS programme was not limited to officially sanctioned companies, but also welcomed companies that had an antagonistic relationship with their home governments, such as the Núria Espert Company from

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Molly Daubeney, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

Spain, and received no government subsidy, such as the Natal Theatre Workshop Company from South Africa.

In his search for potential companies, Daubeny consulted individuals with expertise in different theatrical cultures. Nicholas Daubeny recalled that his father had ‘a network of people who would spot things’¹⁸⁷ and mentioned Ossia Trilling, with whom Daubeny travelled to Poland. Billington also spoke of ‘the unacknowledged influence of Ossia Trilling’.¹⁸⁸ Trilling was Vice-President of the International Association of Theatre Critics between 1956 and 1977 and regularly travelled around the world writing theatre reviews for the *Financial Times*, *Theatre World* and *The Stage*.¹⁸⁹ In the Peter Daubeny Collection there is evidence of correspondence with Trilling, which demonstrates that Trilling often wrote Daubeny reports of current theatre landscapes in the countries to which he travelled. In one report on theatre in Germany, Trilling details what he saw, what he recommends for the WTS, and reports on meetings he had on Daubeny’s behalf.¹⁹⁰ This included a meeting with the director of the Schiller Theater, Bolesław Barlog, about his production of Zuckermayer’s *The Captain of Köpenick*, which came to the WTS in 1970. Trilling also delivered a letter for Daubeny to Robert Planchon in February 1966 in relation to a visit from the Théâtre de la Cité, which eventually came in 1969.¹⁹¹ Trilling played host to international theatre critics during the WTS.

¹⁸⁷ Nicolas Daubeny, Interview with Author, 08 April 2015

¹⁸⁸ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014

¹⁸⁹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-ossia-trilling-1449082.html> [accessed 11 May 2017]

¹⁹⁰ Letter from Ossia Trilling to Peter Daubeny, 21 February 1969. Box 22, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁹¹ Box 12, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

In a letter to Tim Aitchinson, a journalist at the South African newspaper the *Natal Mercury*, Daubeny wrote, 'Ossia will be a great help to you during your stay in London. He is one of our best informed international critics and has always worked in close conjunction with the World Theatre Season'.¹⁹² Another name that Daubeny regularly mentions in his autobiography in relation to programming is John Francis Lane. Daubeny recounts how he travelled to Dublin together with Lane to see productions of Sean O'Casey's plays at the Abbey Theatre before programming them in 1964. He also mentions Lane's support for his efforts in Italy, writing 'John's energy and versatility make him a stimulating and instructive companion to the Italian scene'.¹⁹³ Lane helped him bring Vittorio Gassman to the Aldwych to perform *The Heroes* in 1963,¹⁹⁴ introduced him to Eduardo De Filippo on one of their trips to Italy,¹⁹⁵ and wrote the programme notes for Peppino De Filippo's Italian Theatre Company for the WTS souvenir programme in 1964.

This exploration of WTS institutional structures and practices demonstrates how the WTS was positioned as a satellite to the RSC activities, associated with the company and its vision, but largely functioning separately on an organizational level. This is also reflected in the striking absence of any material relating to the WTS in the RSC archive held in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library and Archive in Stratford-upon-Avon. Given Daubeny's level of autonomy as Artistic Director, his pre-1964 work as an impresario is key to understanding WTS institutional structures

¹⁹² Letter from Peter Daubeny to Tim Aitchinson, 15 March 1972. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Centre, Boston University

¹⁹³ Daubeny 1971, p. 205

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 216

and practices. The methodology of cultural diplomacy which he developed as an independent producer continued to direct the way he ran the WTS, in part because he was still operating under financial restraint, even with the institutional support of the RSC.

Finances

The following consideration of WTS expenditure and income explores how financial structures shaped conditions of production at the WTS. Drawing on evidence from archives and oral history, I will outline the WTS's key costs and demonstrate how these costs were met by box office receipts, public subsidy, private sources, and by the visiting companies. Ultimately, this section suggests that the WTS used the cultural capital of London and of the RSC in order to take place at a relatively low cost, but that the limitations on its funding restricted its expansion and were indicative of a lack of provision for visiting international theatre productions in the UK. This analysis contributes new evidence to studies into landscapes of theatre funding in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s and embeds the WTS in histories about the RSC's influence on increased public subsidy of the arts.

Each year the WTS had substantial costs associated with administration, production, publicity, and the Aldwych Theatre. The following information is drawn from documentation relating to budgets and accounting in the Peter Daubeney Collection at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, the Arts Council Archive in the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance and the Greater London Council (GLC) Archive at the London Metropolitan Archives. The Peter Daubeney Collection contains full accounts for the years 1964-1966, the Arts Council Archive

contains the full accounts for 1967, and the GLC Archive contains the full accounts for 1973 and 1975. These archives offer only limited documentation relating to the period between 1968 and 1972, such as documents in the Peter Daubeney Collection that contain comparative financial statistics and details gleaned and pieced together from correspondence.

The administrative costs of the WTS related to staffing, travel, and running the office. Staffing costs increased as the WTS became more established. In the budgets for 1964-1967 staffing does not have an entry, but by the WTS tenth anniversary in 1973, staffing costs amount to £14,404 of the total expenses of £71,001, equating to approximately 20% of the full costs of realising the WTS.¹⁹⁶ Travel was undertaken by Daubeney, often accompanied by Molly Daubeney, for programming purposes. Accounts for the 1967 offer a breakdown of travel costs and show that they amounted to £2529.2s.9d,¹⁹⁷ approximately 3% of the total cost of £79,249.9s.10d. Office costs were low because the workplace was the Daubeney family home, which absorbed expenses such as rent, heating and electricity. Costs charged to the WTS included telephone usage, postage, and Photostat machines, coming to £1,931 in 1971, approximately 2.4% of the total costs. The WTS covered the productions' costs for the simultaneous translation. The accounts for 1967 include a detailed breakdown of associated costs, including an administration fee for Black, payment for translations and readers, and equipment hire. That year

¹⁹⁶ World Theatre Season 1973: Statement of Account, GLC/RA/GR/05/015, Greater London Council Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

¹⁹⁷ Budgets drawn up before Decimal Day on 15 February 1971 are expressed in pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d)

costs came to £4177.9s.4d, but £2,783.15s.0d was recouped through the hire of the simultaneous translators to audience members, a practice which was introduced in 1966. Publicity costs included salaries for staff, the production and distribution of leaflets and posters, advertising fees for display and in the media, photographic costs and press tickets. In the first two years, the WTS spent a modest amount on advertising and printing¹⁹⁸ because the *Sunday Telegraph* played a leading role in WTS publicity. Budgets for these years show that the *Telegraph's* estimated contribution in respect of advertising and printing amounted to approximately £12,000 each year.¹⁹⁹ Once the *Telegraph* withdrew its sponsorship in 1966, the WTS doubled its expenditure on advertising and publicity, spending £6,136.11s.6d in 1966 and £7,383.8s.2d in 1967. For the tenth anniversary in 1973, publicity costs came to £10,285²⁰⁰ and a smaller sum of £4,500 was budgeted for the short final WTS in 1975.²⁰¹ Costs relating to the Aldwych Theatre represented the largest expense, coming to approximately double the cost of setting up, publicising and administering. These included payments for stage and house staff, rent, insurance, gas and electricity. Stage staff included carpenters, technicians, electricians, wardrobe staff and dressers. House staff included the box office staff, front of house staff, security, cleaners, as well as theatre management and the theatre secretary. Rent refers to the RSC cost of renting the Aldwych as their London base and the costs of insurance, gas and electricity came on top of that.

¹⁹⁸ £3,529.3s.7d in 1964 and £3190.17s.0 in 1965. Box 20, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁹⁹ Box 20, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁰⁰ World Theatre Season 1973: Statement of Account, GLC/RA/GR/05/015, Greater London Council Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

²⁰¹ GLC/RA/GR/05/015, Greater London Council Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

A substantial proportion of the actual cost of producing the WTS was borne by the visiting companies. Under the WTS standard contract, visiting companies were responsible for shipping and travel costs; the salaries, accommodation and subsistence of their members during their stay in London; the insurance of all people, sets, and costumes; any fees that arose in relation to performing rights and royalties; and any necessary dues to the British Actors' Equity Association.²⁰² The WTS gave the companies 45% of the Box Office receipts and a guarantee of £2000 per week of 8 performances.²⁰³ French and Russian companies were treated exceptionally, receiving a guarantee of £4000 per week,²⁰⁴ which I would suggest reflects both Daubeny's confidence that these companies would sell well and his need to incentivise better-known companies to join the programme.

To raise production capital the WTS relied on a variety of sources of income, including box office receipts, public subsidy, and private sponsorship. Box office takings are always an unpredictable source of income, contingent on innumerable variables. In 1964, box office takings appeared to almost meet costs, leaving a modest deficit of £1,415.12s.11d. In 1965 a profit of £2067.7s.6d was split between the *Sunday Telegraph* (50%), the RSC (25%), and Daubeny (25%).²⁰⁵ These figures do not account for the publicity donated in kind by the *Sunday Telegraph*, costing approximately £12,000. Once the *Telegraph* withdrew as sponsor in 1966, the

²⁰² Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁰³ Letter from WTS Accountant to Fernand Lumbroso, 16 September 1968. Box 11, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁰⁴ Letter from Peter Daubeny to David Brierley, 06 October 1969. Box 14 Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Centre, Boston University

²⁰⁵ ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

deficit reflected this loss, coming to £12,115.3s.4d that year and to £11,067.2s.4d in 1967. Future WTS budgets consistently planned for a deficit around this figure, predicting average audiences of 65%. In a letter to Patrick Donnell,²⁰⁶ Daubeney writes,

as I have always said – since 1964 – we should never expect an overall percentage of more than 65%. I think that in all your official correspondence this should always be emphasized, if I may say so, because to operate a WTS such as this under £12,000 is in itself rather miraculous.²⁰⁷

This suggests that planning for around a £12,000 deficit was strategic in order to secure a workable guarantee against loss, although the deficit increased and was adversely effected by events such as last minute cancelled visits, such as that of the Theatre Behind the Gate in 1971.

The WTS sought to cover the cost of the deficit through appeals for public subsidy and I would suggest that the WTS contributed significantly to models of UK arts funding that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s Hall was campaigning for increased public subsidy of the arts, with a particular focus on the RSC and the nascent NT. In *Inside the Royal Shakespeare Company*, Chambers argues that the outcome of the RSC's appeal for increased public subsidy 'not only determined the kind of future the RSC could enjoy but also moulded the pattern of the nation's major performing arts funding for the next four decades'.²⁰⁸ The WTS was firmly imbedded in the RSC's discourse for increased public subsidy and lent considerable

²⁰⁶ In 1967, Patrick Donnell moved from Stratford to the Aldwych Theatre to become RSC Administrator for the opening of the Barbican Theatre. He also retained responsibility on behalf of the RSC for foreign tours, provincial tours, the World Theatre Season and film and television projects

²⁰⁷ Letter from Peter Daubeney to Patrick Donnell, 11 April 1967. Box 19, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁰⁸ Chambers 2004, p. 23

weight to the RSC's cause. In his 'Introduction' to the 1964 WTS programme, Hall overtly frames the WTS as further justification of public subsidy for the RSC. He argues for theatre's power as an ambassador for understanding, writing 'the union of actor and audience can achieve a flash-point of communication which penetrates every barrier, even that of language' and further that 'a strong and popular cultural life can enrich us far beyond its cost'. He frames the WTS as an exchange, drawing on details of the RSC's planned tour of Eastern Europe, America, and Canada, and concluding, 'politically, it should draw our countries together: artistically it should provide capital that can be used in the future'.²⁰⁹ Further, the invited companies embodied the kind of funding structure that Hall aspired to attain for the RSC: repertory companies with a pool of permanent actors who were well-funded by their respective governments. This comparison is made explicit in Hall's 'Welcome' in the 1965 programme in which he states,

After many years of anguish and idealism, Britain at last has two theatre ensembles of character which can hope to return the compliment this international WTS pays us – the extraordinarily successful National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company... the subsidised theatre has arrived.²¹⁰

Hall's discourse constructs the RSC and NT in the image of the companies at the WTS, demonstrating how these visiting companies and their high production values were held up as examples of what British theatre could achieve if it were to receive the same level of government subsidy.

The outcome of the WTS's application for Arts Council funding reveals much about the politics of arts funding in the late 1960s. In 1967, the RSC and Daubeny made a

²⁰⁹ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁰ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1965, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

formal application to the Arts Council for £20,000 in support of the fifth anniversary WTS the following year. This figure came directly from the British Council who strongly supported the application. They argued that the WTS ‘afforded a unique opportunity for exchange visits’²¹¹ but were concerned that current WTS terms were making it hard for the British Council to get good terms for reciprocal tours by the RSC. Jane Edgeworth, Head of the Drama, Dance and Music Department, wrote a letter to Derek Hornby, RSC Administrative Director, saying that, ‘the terms that you are able to offer at the moment to visiting companies are less good than we would expect to have’ and concluded with the following statement: ‘I confirm that the figure I think you really need to cover the World Theatre Season sensible is between £15,000 and £20,000’.²¹² The British Council argued that they could not sponsor the WTS themselves as they would be ‘subject to Exchequer and Audit criticism’ if they used their funds ‘for what is in effect a direct subsidy to the operating costs of the World Theatre Season in this country’.²¹³ The Arts Council agreed to contribute £4,000, a small proportion of the requested sum, and this only indirectly through its annual subsidy to the RSC, arguing that it was ‘unwilling to embark on a policy of financial assistance to foreign companies’.²¹⁴ The Arts Council did, however, provide a letter of support, which stated that ‘the Council consider

²¹¹ Mr. Argles at a meeting held at 4 St. James Square on 23 May 1967 with representatives from the Greater London Council, the British Council, the Department of Education and Science, the Royal Shakespeare Company, and the Arts Council of Great Britain. ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹² Letter from Jane Edgeworth to Derek Hornby, 03 March 1968. Box 20, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Centre, Boston University

²¹³ Letter from Robin Duke to K. Jeffery, 30 March 1967. ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁴ Letter from Nigel J. Abercrombie to Patrick Donnell, 01 May 1968. ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

the World Theatre Season an integral and most important part of the Royal Shakespeare Company's annual programme in London'.²¹⁵ The RSC used this letter to launch an appeal to all 32 London boroughs for financial support, assuring them that the Arts Council regarded the WTS as an essential part of RSC policy. In 1969, Daubeny made another appeal to the Arts Council for assurances that funding via RSC subsidy would continue, but received a letter stating, 'any decision on the future of the World Theatre Season is a matter entirely for the Royal Shakespeare Company',²¹⁶ thereby absolving the Arts Council of any financial responsibility. I would suggest the WTS fell in the cracks between the policies of these two funding bodies. The British Council felt its remit was to fund British theatre abroad, the Arts Council felt its remit was to fund British theatre at home, and neither body felt responsible for international work in the UK. A report, written by the Director General Comptroller of the GLC and presented to the GLC's Arts and Recreation Committee, identifies this funding gap, stating that 'the United Kingdom is one of the few countries which have no central agency for financing international cultural exchanges' and recommending that the Board 'approve a grant of £5,000 for the World Theatre Season in 1975'.²¹⁷ The GLC sponsored the WTS between 1966 and 1967 and between 1971 and 1975.²¹⁸ Other bodies that contributed to the funding gap included the City of London, who committed £1,000 in 1973, the City of

²¹⁵ Letter from Patrick Donnell to Nigel J Abercrombie, 03 May 1968. ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁶ Letter from Hugh Willatt to Peter Daubeny, 22 July 1969. ACGB/34/180, Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁷ GLC/RA/GR/05/015, Greater London Council Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

²¹⁸ £5,000 in 1971, £6,000 in 1972, £7,000 in 1973 and £4,000 in 1975

Westminster, who committed £500 in 1973, and the London Borough of Hackney, who committed £100 in 1973.²¹⁹

Given the structural lack of funds for a project like the WTS, a significant percentage of the WTS budget came from private sponsors. After the *Sunday Telegraph* withdrew its sponsorship, the *Financial Times* guaranteed the WTS a sum against loss every year except 1972 and 1975. For at least the first three years and in 1973 this was to the value of £3,000. I have not found any evidence to confirm whether this amount was maintained in 1970 and 1971. The WTS had several anonymous private patrons, but those to be named openly in festival programmes or in correspondence in the Peter Daubeney Collection include Ursula Furstner, Philip Henman, D. Horne, the Leche Trust, and Johnson Wax Ltd. Substantial private investment also came from the Daubenys themselves and Molly Daubeney confirmed that her family's company contributed to the costs of the return visit of the Zulu Company with their production of *uMabatha* in 1973.²²⁰

This section on finances has demonstrated that a project on the scale of the WTS could never hope to break even on ticket sales and relied on other forms of income for its realisation. I would suggest that the WTS was a key influence on emerging models of public funding for the arts in the UK. By drawing regular, high profile attention to international companies subsidised by their home governments, the WTS contributed substantially to discourses around public subsidy, which were being spearheaded at the time by influential figures. Hall and Tynan consistently

²¹⁹ GLC/RA/GR/05/015, Greater London Council Collection, London Metropolitan Archives

²²⁰ Molly Daubeney, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

invoked WTS visiting companies in their fight for public subsidy for the NT and the RSC. Meanwhile Daubeny's own programming ambitions were limited by the structural lack of funds for international theatre on the British stage and he relied heavily on private sources of income to break even. This funding gap was alleviated in part by the founding of Visiting Arts in 1977, two years after the final WTS.

Public Discourses

This section seeks to establish the public discourses associated with the WTS over the period of its existence. I will consider the WTS's own public discourses through analysis of its programmes, posters, and advertising campaigns, which I argue are revelatory of its values, aims, and the 'World' it sought to perform. I will consider to what extent this official discourse was upheld or subverted in the press, through reviews and other coverage, and by the visiting companies, although the latter will be unpacked in more detail in relation to my chosen case studies in Chapters Two to Four. I will briefly outline possible ways in which these discourses shaped the conditions of production for visiting companies as well as the conditions of reception for WTS audiences. As Knowles reflects, public discourses have a 'powerful influence establishing the horizon of expectations of theatregoers, and therefore shaping their theatrical experience and the meanings they carry away with them'.²²¹ This dimension will also receive detailed study in relation to my chosen case studies in later chapters.

²²¹ Knowles 2004, p. 91

There was a dominant strain of humanist internationalism in WTS discourse, which advocates for the WTS's value as ambassador of understanding between different cultures. As previously discussed, this discourse was established by Hall in his 'Introduction' to the 1964 WTS programme. An understanding of theatre's potential to form friendships across cultural and linguistic borders was again invoked in the programme for the 1965 WTS by Peter Ustinov, in which he wrote, 'we are nearer the hearts of these people when we see such companies than we ever are as tourists',²²² and was repeated by Hall in the 1966 programme, in which he stated, 'language is no barrier to the union between actor and audience. And an understanding of the work of these visiting companies can perhaps broaden into a better understanding of the countries from which they come'.²²³ This discourse has also emerged in the interviews I conducted with individuals as part of my research. Joyce Nettles, who worked as Daubeny's secretary between 1972 and 1973, reflected,

If you love Zulu theatre, it would be difficult to hate the Zulus, and therefore it would be difficult for me to take part in a war against the Zulus. That's very simplistic, but likewise, if I love Polish theatre, I will think twice before I volunteer to fight against Poland... The theatre can be an instrument for the improvement of the lot of mankind, in a kind of microscopic way, but that's better than nothing.²²⁴

Nettles was drawing on her experience of seeing the Zulu production *uMabatha* and Poland's Cracow Stary Theatre in *The Possessed*, two productions which she described as 'almost as fresh today as they were then'.²²⁵ Her choice of these

²²² WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1965, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²³ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁴ Joyce Nettles, Interview with Author, 19 February 2015

²²⁵ Ibid.

examples in this context suggests that she felt the humanist potential of the WTS particularly keenly in relation to cultures experiencing oppression. Similarly, director David Gothard observed, ‘the wonderful thing about a substantial part of that programme is it is helping oppressed art in Eastern Europe – the Poles and the Czechs and the Russians’.²²⁶ In this way, WTS discourse was not unlike that which evolved in the immediate post-War period, when the Edinburgh International Festival was founded. Molly Daubeny suggested that the Daubeny’s experience of the war influenced his programming. She recalled that, ‘Peter was very keen that companies came from Poland... because of the war he felt that the Poles needed help and publicity’.²²⁷ This suggests that Daubeny was equally invested in the post-War discourse which positioned international cultural exchange as a way of building and rebuilding relationships between the people of different nations.

This discourse of humanist internationalism was upheld in many corners of the press. As official sponsors of the WTS, the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Financial Times* had a vested interest in supporting and disseminating WTS discourse.

However, the WTS was covered by all the main broadsheets and tabloids and found vocal support among the most prominent figures in theatre criticism. In *A Man for All Theatres*,²²⁸ Molly Daubeny reflected, ‘Peter always had a very good relationship with the critics’.²²⁹ This is corroborated by private correspondence in the Peter Daubeny Collection between Daubeny and several high-profile critics, including

²²⁶ David Gothard, Interview with Author, 04 April 2016

²²⁷ Molly Daubeny, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

²²⁸ Broadcast on BBC Radio 3 on 6 August 1980 at 21.40

²²⁹ *A Man for All Theatres*, BBC Radio 3, 06 August 1980, British Library Sound Archive

Irving Wardle of *The Times*, Harold Hobson of the *Sunday Times*, Ronald Bryden of the *New Statesman*, Alan Seymour of *Plays and Players*, Eric Johns of *The Stage*, as well as Charles Lefeaux, Drama producer at the BBC. Daubeney was good friends with Charles Wintour, Editor of the *Evening Standard*, who wrote a tribute to him in the WTS Tenth Anniversary souvenir programme in 1973 and presented him with the first ever Evening Standard Special Award for services to the theatre.²³⁰ The discourse of humanist internationalism emerges in *The Stage* in a description of the contact between players and audience as ‘a form of communication unlike any other well-meaning attempt at international understanding’,²³¹ in the *Evening Standard*’s assertion that ‘it is on the great stages of the world that are laid bare those universal human impulses and motivations which transcend barriers of race, tribe, language, creed or politics’,²³² and in J. W. Lambert’s appreciation of ‘the varied perspectives’ on ‘the human situation’²³³ offered by the WTS programme.

Despite widespread critical support for the project, the newspapers also testified to moments of frustration, where critics failed to overcome linguistic or cultural barriers. Many critics reflected on the specific challenges of reviewing WTS productions. In 1968, Ronald Bryden wrote in the *Observer*, ‘if London is the theatrical capital of the world, these exhausting, uneven, indigestible annual endurance tests at the Aldwych are one of the reasons’.²³⁴ Couched in positive

²³⁰ Souvenir programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³¹ THM/85/2/1, Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

terms, this reflection nevertheless gestures to the labour involved for the critics in doing justice to productions that they review. Billington testified to the language barrier being part of the difficulty, recalling that he was 'grateful for things that came along that weren't language based'.²³⁵ Wardle also alluded to the difficulties of doing critical justice to productions from different cultures in unfamiliar languages when working to traditional press deadlines. He recalled,

when you're doing it overnight and you haven't got much time to do research... you've got an impression, it may be a completely false impression, it probably will be an ignorant impression.²³⁶

Wardle recounted a time when he was called into the Czech Cultural Attaché's office after writing a 'not terribly enthusiastic piece'²³⁷ about the Czech National Theatre's production of *The Insect Play*. There is a clear sense across many reviews that the critics felt a tension between the diplomatic and the aesthetic. Wardle offered an extended reflection on this disjunction in *The Times* in 1969, writing 'I do not agree that simply because a production originates abroad it should be handled with kid gloves' and alluding to Daubeny's sensitivity to press criticism. Wardle went on to recognize, however, that 'the survival of the WTS lies as much in diplomatic as in aesthetic judgement'.²³⁸ Billington also reflected on his experiences taking a critical position, suggesting that, 'the difficulty was that one welcomed the concept even if not every production was a masterpiece'.²³⁹ I would suggest that sometimes a disjunction emerged between the WTS's stated aims, ambitions, and

²³⁵ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014

²³⁶ Irving Wardle, Interview with Author, 12 March 2014

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Irving Wardle, 'Our Theatrical Mecca', *The Times*, 15 November 1969. Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁹ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014

values, and the resulting impressions memorialised in critical reviews. In the main, however, press discourse expressed appreciation and support for the WTS and the visiting companies.

The overarching philosophy of humanist internationalism was underpinned in the discourse by the idea of nation as organising principle. As Harvie points out, nations are ‘fundamental to the way people experience the world and our place within it’²⁴⁰ and this is reflected in WTS discourse. Each company was intricately bound up with its corresponding nation in WTS publicity. The graphic identity was defined by a spherical logo, visually reflecting the ‘World’ of the WTS’s name, and embedded in the centre of three coloured rectangles, so that the ensemble resembled the image of a flag. The cover for the 1964 souvenir programme [See Figure 1], designed by George Mayhew,²⁴¹ repeated this shape in a banner comprising the flag of each contributing country. In the programmes for 1968 and 1970 the logo maintained its central position on the cover and the names of all the represented nations emanated out of it like sun rays or the petals of a flower [See Figures 2 and 3], communicating a sense of enlightenment or growth. On WTS posters, nations were given similar prominence, introducing the companies as ‘from’ their representative nation [See Figure 4].

²⁴⁰ Harvie 2005, p. 1

²⁴¹ George Mayhew was a Graphic Designer who formed BDMW Associates alongside George Daulby and Derek Birdsall in 1959 and did a lot of graphic design work for the RSC throughout the 1960s. For more information:
<http://www.eyemagazine.com/feature/article/play-and-playbill>
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2005/oct/17/guardianobituaries.artsobituaries>
[accessed 13 May 2017]

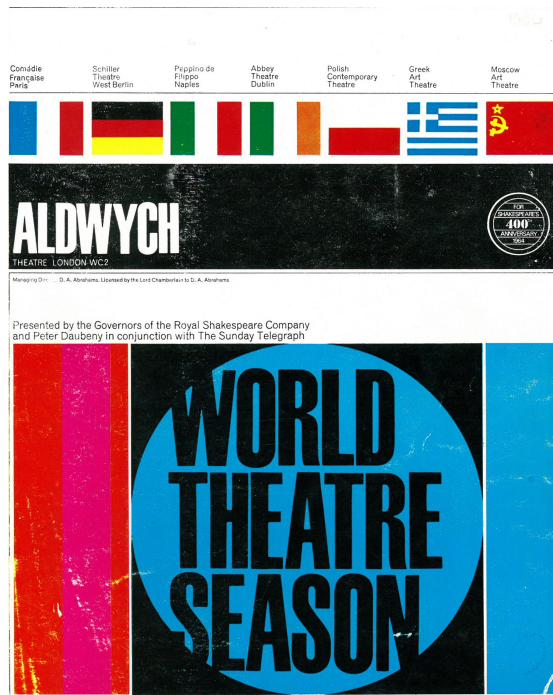


Figure 1: Cover for the 1964 WTS souvenir programme. Designed by George Mayhew.

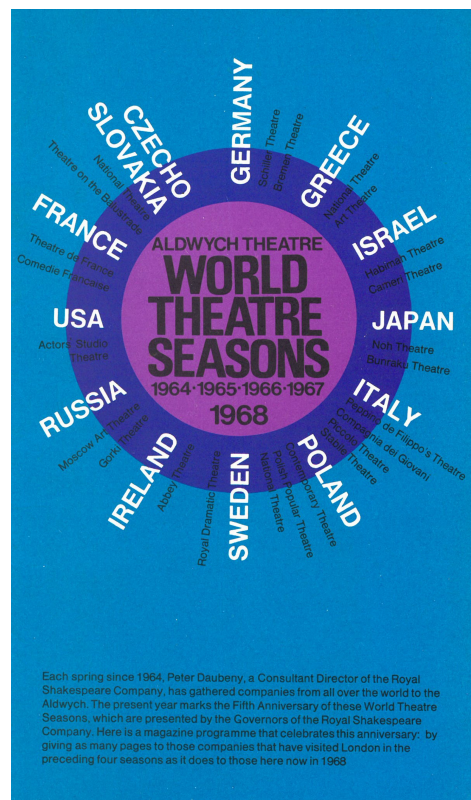


Figure 2: Cover for the 1968 WTS souvenir programme. Designed by George Mayhew.



Figure 3: Cover for the 1970 WTS souvenir programme. Designed by George Mayhew.

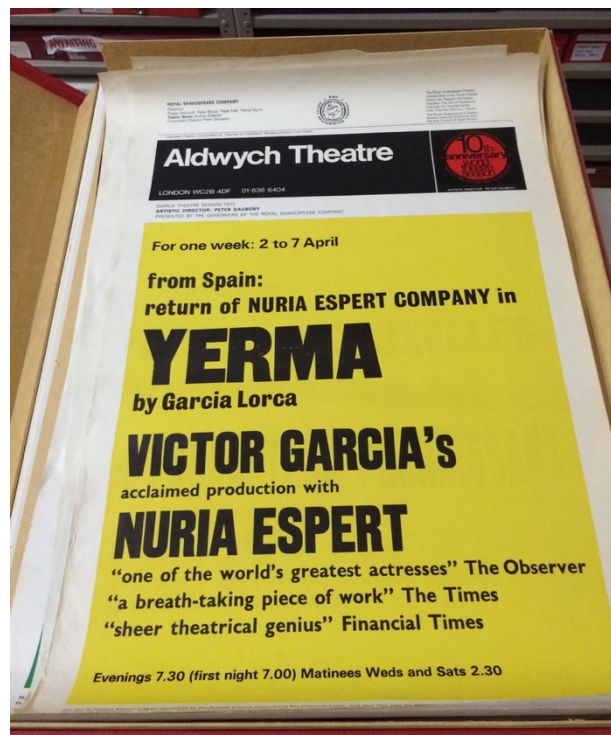


Figure 4: Poster for the Núria Espert Company production of *Yerma* at the 1973 WTS. Designer unknown.

The idea of nation was also prominent in the text contained within the programmes. In his 'Introduction' to the 1964 WTS, Hall wrote, 'On the Royal Shakespeare's London stage, seven nations are celebrating Shakespeare's 400th anniversary with representative works from their repertoires'.²⁴² Hall explicitly bound nation with canon, a discourse reflecting the WTS's inauguration as part of the RSC's 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. The programme for the first WTS reflects this association between nation and canon: the French company brought Molière, the German company brought Goethe, the Irish company O'Casey, and so on. Hall evoked the concept of nation again in his lines for the 1968 programme, where he wrote,

the theatre in every country, like the air, the food or the wine, has its own particular flavour. It reflects a country's bloody or peaceful history, its religion, all the contradictions of its personality.²⁴³

I would suggest that Hall's discourse allowed for a limited definition of nation and effectively positioned the visiting companies as cultural ambassadors representing national theatrical traditions. There was, however, space for resistance to this. By 1966, the WTS programme included examples of companies whose working practices went beyond concerns of nation. There were companies who aligned themselves with a Western European, rather than a national, canon (the Schiller Theater, the Núria Espert Company, the Compagnia di Prosa, and the Comédie Française); or with a diasporic, rather than national, identity (the Negro Ensemble Company); and there were companies whose antagonistic relationship with their

²⁴² Peter Hall, 'Introduction', 1964 WTS souvenir programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴³ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1968, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

government was reflected in their choice of repertoire (Theatre Behind the Gate, Núria Espert Company); or belied traces of a colonial past (Natal Theatre Workshop Company). There were certain companies, such as the Negro Ensemble Company, who chose not to play the national anthem before opening night. These companies and the manner in which their work challenged, or reaffirmed, the WTS's public discourses and subsequent understandings of national theatre traditions will undergo fuller exploration in my case study chapters.

There is archival evidence to suggest that the concept of nation also directed WTS publicity strategy, which conceived of audiences in national terms. Daubeney was demonstrably keen to link visiting companies to their equivalent immigrant community in the UK. For example, he requests that John Goodwin source 'a picture of Peppino talking to the Italian workers at Bradford', which he argues would be 'worth fifty parties'.²⁴⁴ Daubeney's investment in the marketing potential of these national connections is also reflected in a letter he received from John Roberts, which read,

As you said you would take on the Embassies I would like to suggest that all P.R.O.s, or Cultural Attachés are contacted and lists obtained of all their Nationals now in this country that they can put us in touch with, any schools and certainly any newspapers – like the Polish ones – so that we can advertise.²⁴⁵

This is corroborated by publicity documents in the Peter Daubeney Collection in which lists of Polish organisations in London have been compiled.²⁴⁶ Rees recalled

²⁴⁴ Letter from Peter Daubeney to John Goodwin, 20 November 1963. Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁴⁵ Letter from John Roberts to Peter Daubeney, 13 November 1963. Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁴⁶ Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

that he and his team worked closely with the Polish community, who he described as 'essential for getting it networked'.²⁴⁷ The idea of the national within the international, the local within the global, was thus present in the WTS's discourse and directed its publicity strategies.

By underscoring the national and international significance of WTS programmes, the discourse created a sense of prestige. This word regularly appears in relation to the WTS. In correspondence, the RSC's Derek Hornby wrote to Daubeny that his work 'brings to British theatre as a whole a great deal of prestige'²⁴⁸ and in a letter to Hall, Daubeny suggested that the visiting companies 'are willing to sacrifice themselves for "half the price" because of the prestige to them and their countries in taking part'.²⁴⁹ Similarly in the press, B.A. Young wrote in the *Financial Times*, 'to appear at the Aldwych has become a mark of the highest prestige'²⁵⁰ and an article in *The Stage* announcing the 1969 WTS declared, 'an invitation to take part in our World Theatre Season... enhances the prestige of a company which is automatically regarded in a new light by the rest of the civilised world'.²⁵¹ I would argue that the roots of this prestigious character lie in the WTS's conception as part of Shakespeare's 400th anniversary in 1964, where invited companies were immediately linked with the Bard, and all associated notions of quality and reverence.

²⁴⁷ David Rees, Interview with Author, 12 January 2015

²⁴⁸ Letter from Derek Hornby to Peter Daubeny, 4 April 1969. Box 20, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁴⁹ Letter from Peter Daubeny to Peter Hall, 16 March 1967. Box 19, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁵⁰ THM/85/2/1, Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵¹ Ibid.

This sense of prestige was also constructed through the expertise associated with Daubeny as Artistic Director. In his 'Introduction' to the 1964 programme, Hall evoked Daubeny's experience by foregrounding his role in introducing the Berliner Ensemble to the British stage in 1956 and concluding that 'he has done more than anybody to bring the world's theatre to London'.²⁵² Daubeny's authority is similarly invoked in the press discourse. Before the first WTS, a report in *The Times* hailed Daubeny as 'a one-man Théâtre des Nations'²⁵³ and Hobson described him as 'the greatest expert upon the European theatre that Britain, or probably any other country, possesses,' adding that 'he has given to London since the war some of the finest moments the British stage has ever known'.²⁵⁴ Daubeny's extensive travelling was often quoted to suggest that the companies were carefully selected, that their visit was a rarity, and the opportunity to see them perform in the UK a privilege. This is notable in the numerous comparisons between Daubeny and the famous explorers of the past. Hilary Spurling linked Daubeny's work to the 'similarly reckless, even lunatic feats performed by Renaissance adventurers and scholars setting out to map the world'²⁵⁵ and Hands compared him to Sir Walter Raleigh, suggesting 'in the same way Elizabethan buccaneers went around the world bringing back riches and curiosities and tobacco and potatoes and gold and silver and all the rest of it. Peter did that for the arts'.²⁵⁶ The imperialist language

²⁵² Souvenir programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵³ Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁴ Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁵ Press cutting, Box 27, Folder 6, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁵⁶ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

employed by Spurling and Hands is revealing of the colonialist dimensions of the WTS, which I investigate in Chapter Four. The image of Daubeny as a great explorer of the theatre world was visually emphasized using photographs in WTS publicity material. Every programme contains a photograph of Daubeny in situ with a member of the company, which Daubeny argued makes the reader 'feel privileged, interested and curious'.²⁵⁷ Daubeny was a strong advocate of the marketing power of the image and every company was requested to send publicity images in advance for press distribution.

The prestige attached to the WTS was also enhanced by the discourse of celebrity. WTS publicity materials often drew on celebrity voices as endorsement for its initiatives. In the 1964 souvenir programme, for example, the film director Federico Fellini wrote an entry about Peppino De Filippo and French playwright Eugène Ionesco wrote on Karolous Koun. Later programmes included entries by Charlie Chaplin and John Gielgud. The WTS also programmed several visiting artists who already had significant reputations in the UK through their work in film. Famous actors included Jean-Louis Barrault, whom many British audiences would have seen in the film *Les Enfants du Paradis* (1945), and Anna Magnani, who was known in the UK for her performance in Roberto Rossellini's film *Rome, Open City* (1945).²⁵⁸ Famous directors included Ingmar Bergman, who had won two Academy Awards for Best Foreign Film²⁵⁹ and several prizes at the Cannes Films Festival,²⁶⁰ and

²⁵⁷ Memorandum to Duff Hart Davis. Box 9, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Research Center, Boston University

²⁵⁸ *Rome, Open City* won the Grand Prize at the first annual Cannes Film Festival in 1946

²⁵⁹ *The Virgin Spring*, 1960 and *Through a Glass Darkly*, 1961

²⁶⁰ Best Poetic Humour, *Smiles of a Summer Night*, 1955; Jury Special Prize, *The Seventh Seal*, 1957; Best Director, *Brink of Life*, 1958; Special Mention, *The Virgin Spring*, 1960

Andrzej Wajda, who had secured acclaim for his Polish war trilogy, *A Generation* (1955), *Kanał* (1957) and *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958). The discourse of celebrity also extended to the audience. Members of the Royal Family were always invited to be present on opening night and other significant audience members were often reported in the press. These figures, on stage and in the auditorium, in the WTS discourse and in the press, had a legitimizing effect on the WTS, offering an assurance of quality and adding a touch of what Rees called 'glamour'.²⁶¹

The sense of prestige was also upheld by the fact that the WTS regularly inscribed its own historical significance into its discourses, thereby positioning the visiting artists and those who witnessed them as privileged witnesses of historic moments in British theatre history. Articles in many of the programmes position the WTS as a watershed moment for British theatre. The introductory article to the 1966 programme proclaims that,

before these seasons started, the British theatre was not particularly conscious of international theatre... only since 1964 have the world's most exciting theatre companies been regularly on show in London.²⁶²

In his article for the 1965 programme entitled 'The Way Ahead',²⁶³ Charlie Chaplin calls the increased presence of international theatre a 'Renaissance'. In the 1968 programme, the WTS is directly linked to 'the renewed vigour and life of our theatre'.²⁶⁴ In the press, critics often similarly positioned the season as pivotal to

²⁶¹ David Rees, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

²⁶² WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶³ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1965, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁴ WTS programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1968, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

British theatre finally catching up with other arts forms. In the *Observer*, in 1966

Spurling wrote,

Week after week, to right and to left of me, other people are scrupulously weighing foreign films, foreign sculpture, foreign paintings, foreign orchestras. Only the theatre is starved of contact with the world beyond this island – except through the miracles of financial and diplomatic tact performed each year by Mr. Peter Daubeney.²⁶⁵

Film and theatre critic Penelope Gilliat similarly observed that ‘the London stage suddenly has its own National Film Theatre’, drawing a parallel with such an analogy to the world cinema focus of the NFT and the London Film Festival (LFF) which I will deal with in Chapter Three.²⁶⁶ This sense of transformation is present in the repeated idea that the WTS raised the profile of London into an international theatre capital. In his introduction to the 1968 programme, Peter Hall introduces this idea, which is then immediately reinforced by the press cuttings which are reproduced in the margins.

This discourse of historical significance is accompanied by moments of self-memorialization. The WTS programmes contain intermittent statistical updates which serve to underline the magnitude of WTS achievements. In the 1968 programme, Hall remarked on the ‘24 companies and 65 plays’ that London has seen. The publicity leaflet for the 1972 WTS states ‘the total number of visits by foreign companies to the World Theatre Season is now over 60. They have brought in all more than 100 different productions’ and in the production programmes for the 1973 WTS, it states ‘the 10 seasons, by the end of this present one, will have

²⁶⁵ Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁶ Press cutting, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

staged 43 companies from 19 countries in nearly 150 different productions'. The WTS also had two anniversary seasons – the first in 1968, celebrated the its fifth anniversary and the second, in 1973, its tenth. The 1973 programme was particularly invested in evaluating WTS achievements to date because it was to be the last in the series. Daubeny was to take a period of 'enforced rest'.²⁶⁷ In his article for the 1973 programme, Ronald Bryden explained that 'Daubeny has designed his tenth World Theatre Season as a retrospect of the nine fat years before it'²⁶⁸ and the programme mainly comprised companies who had previously appeared and were met with great success. The notion of a retrospective was reinforced in the programme by the 'Index of Companies and Plays 1964 to 1973' in the back pages and by the three commissioned articles, by Bryden, Wintour and Ustinov, which evaluated WTS impact and potential legacy.

These public discourses reveal much about the 'World' that the WTS aimed to perform. The pervasive humanist internationalism and the weight bestowed on the concept of nation created a sense of prestige, which legitimised and glamourized the WTS for visiting companies and audiences. By repeatedly evoking Daubeny's authority and the WTS's historical significance, the WTS aimed to associate itself with a guarantee of quality and project an image of itself as a trustworthy source for an overview of the most significant theatre on the world's stages.

²⁶⁷ Production programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁸ Souvenir programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to inscribe the WTS into histories of the post-War British stage. In the first section, I drew on Daubeny's work before the WTS to reconfigure dominant histories that position international theatre as a post-War phenomenon. I used Daubeny's work as commercial producer to complicate the dominant historiographical dichotomy between the West End and early models of subsidised and ensemble theatre. After setting up Daubeny's pre-WTS work and experience, I transitioned to an institutional analysis of the WTS, with the aim of establishing the institutional context within which WTS productions were performed, seen and understood. This framework will feed into the detailed case study analysis I provide in the following chapters and will contribute to my ultimate conclusions about the WTS's impact and legacy on the British stage.

Chapter Two: The Radical ‘Other’ of Europe: Spain’s Núria Espert Company

This chapter argues that the WTS expanded understandings of Spanish theatre and culture in the UK at a time when conventional diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations between the two nations were limited by Franco’s dictatorship.¹ I address the Núria Espert Company’s three consecutive visits between 1971 and 1973 with *The Maids* (1971) and *Yerma* (1972-1973) and argue that these productions problematized stereotyped understandings of Spanish culture in the UK. The productions, their reception, and legacy, intersected in significant ways with the development of models of directing, scenography, and acting in the European theatrical landscape in the early 1970s, linking contemporary Spanish stage practice dramaturgically to the development of the European avant-garde. Both productions were directed by Argentinian Víctor García and constituted striking examples of the potential of director’s theatre, initiating critical debate about the authority of the text in theatrical productions. The chapter comprises three sections. In the first two, I consider the impact and legacy of *The Maids* and *Yerma* respectively, demonstrating how the company’s work redefined Jean Genet and Federico García Lorca for British audiences, sparking several revivals, and instigating long-term interest in and engagement with the work of these playwrights in the UK. In the third, I consider post-WTS return visits by the company and by Espert and García as independent practitioners, demonstrating their significance in instigating long-term interest in and engagement with Spanish theatre and culture in the UK.

¹ General Francisco Franco (1892-1975) ruled Spain as a military dictator from the end of the Civil War in 1939 until his death thirty-six years later

In the title for this chapter and throughout the thesis, I use the terms ‘Spain’ and ‘Spanish’ to qualify the Núria Espert Company and its work. My use of this terminology requires contextualisation. In my Introduction, I outline the various problems with using ‘nation’ as an organising principle and align myself with Harvie’s understandings of national identities as ‘creatively produced or staged’.² In Chapter One, I demonstrate how the WTS used the nation as a framing device for visiting companies in its publicity. In this chapter, I address its problematic application to the Núria Espert Company. First, the company performed a ‘Spain’ that was linked dramaturgically to Latin America and to Western Europe. As noted by Daubeny’s personal assistant, Neil Mundy, after a meeting with García about *The Maids*,

negotiations have gone through a French agent – for a play by a French writer living in the United States, to be performed in Great Britain by a Spanish company, directed by an Argentinian!³

Despite Mundy’s seeming enthusiasm for the company’s marked internationalism, there was no space to represent this accurately within WTS publicity conventions. Second, the company’s founder and namesake, Núria Espert, was Catalan, an identity which was subjugated under Franco, who equated ‘Spain’ with ‘Castile’ and outlawed the Catalan, Basque and Galician languages until 1967.⁴ Third, the company received no funding from the Spanish government and existed as an antagonistic satellite to the officially sanctioned theatrical ecosystem in Spain.

² Harvie 2005, p. 2

³ Neil Mundy, Minutes, 11 January 1971. Box 13, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

⁴ Sasha D. Pack, ‘Tourism and Political Change in Franco’s Spain’, in Nigel Townson, ed., *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959 – 1975* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 47-62 (p. 61)

Espert founded the company in 1959 with her husband, the actor-writer-director Armando Moreno, during a period identified by many historians of Spanish political and cultural history as one of liberalisation in terms of Spain's cultural construction.⁵ Immediately after the Civil War, the Franco regime advanced a strictly controlled, exclusionist and isolationist view of Spanish culture. In theatrical terms, this meant that the means of production were controlled through a combination of strategic state sponsorship and censorship, which tied culture to the values of the Catholic Church.⁶ From the mid-1950s, the emerging underground drama, theatre festivals and the independent theatre movement, or *teatro independiente*, as well as the Teatro Español Universitario (TEU), began to explore more adventurous repertoires and performance practices. Delgado pinpoints the significance of the creation of the Teatro Nacional de Cámara y Ensayo by the government in 1954, which was directed by a colleague of Lorca's at La Barraca,⁷ Modesto Higuera. The repertoire included many of the most significant national and international playwrights, whose works were being produced elsewhere in Europe, including leading proponents of North American naturalist drama, epic

⁵ See John London, 'Theatre under Franco (1939 – 1975): Censorship, playwriting and performance' in Maria M. Delgado and David T. Gies, *A History of Theatre in Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 355-71; Marion P. Holt, *The Contemporary Spanish Theater (1949 – 1972)* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), pp. 23-28; Nigel Townson, 'Introduction', in Townson, pp. 1-25

⁶ See London in Delgado and Gies, pp. 341-71; Patricia O'Connor, 'Government Censorship in the Contemporary Spanish Theatre', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 18.4 (December 1966), 443-49; Phyllis Zatlin, 'Theatre and Culture, 1936 – 1996' in David Thatcher Gies, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1999), pp. 222-31; Holt, p. 31

⁷ La Barraca was a student theatre company that Lorca directed between 1932 and 1935. For more information, see Maria M. Delgado, *Federico García Lorca* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 26-33

theatre, Theatre of Cruelty, existentialist drama, German expressionism, and the Theatre of the Absurd.⁸ Censorship before performance was still enforced, but these institutions came under differing censorship regulations and plays could be given permissions for up to three performances.⁹ As Holt has argued, this relative repertory freedom was a result of the belief that the audience potential of these institutions was 'considered to be limited'.¹⁰

The Núria Espert Company worked in the private sector, outside this sanctioned theatrical economy. Espert estimates that around fifty plays that her company submitted to the censors were rejected between 1959 and 1975.¹¹ Talking about making theatre under Franco, Espert explains,

there were the things that Franco liked and the things Franco didn't like and there was censorship. Even if they approved your proposed project, your repertoire rendered you either a friend or decisively not a friend of the regime.¹²

As Delgado has suggested, the company's repertoire represented significant political choices¹³ and both *The Maids* and *Yerma* demonstrated the company's defiant character. The choice of Genet's *The Maids* aligned the company with the European avant-garde and with a playwright who was a convicted criminal, a homosexual,¹⁴ and cultivated an identity as 'a radical outsider'¹⁵ to the values shared by bourgeois society. Espert's anecdote about the mounting of *The Maids*

⁸ London in Delgado and Gies, p. 369

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Holt, p. 30

¹¹ Cited in Delgado 2003, p. 138

¹² Núria Espert, Interview with Maria M. Delgado, 18 and 19 May 2010. Delgado and Gies, p. 458

¹³ Delgado 2003, p. 138

¹⁴ Homosexuality was legalized in Spain in 1979

¹⁵ David Bradby and Clare Finburgh, *Jean Genet* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p. 13

reveals the impact of a combination of self-censorship and state censorship on the eventual shape of the production. She details that the company wanted to produce *The Maids* as a double-bill with a piece by Fernando Arrabal. Arrabal was also a contentious choice, having moved to Paris in self-imposed exile after World War II. The company initially wanted to stage Arrabal's *Fando y Lis*, but decided against it because 'sabíamos que no pasaría censura'¹⁶ [we knew it would not get past the censor].¹⁷ They opted for *Los dos verdugos* (*The Two Executioners*) because it was 'más abstracta' [more abstract] but it was nevertheless censored because of the concrete references to an army tank on stage.¹⁸ Espert details that the censors left before seeing *The Maids*, which opened at the Poliorama Theatre in Barcelona on 21 February 1969.

The company's production of *Yerma* by Lorca was the only significant production of the play to follow a significant 1960 staging by director Luis Escobar.¹⁹ Lorca was also a contentious figure within Francoist Spain. He had been executed by Nationalist forces in 1936, a crime for which the Franco regime had consistently denied responsibility, and his works had previously been incorporated into the Index of Forbidden Books. Further, the actress Margarita Xirgu, who had played *Yerma* in the controversial original production in 1934, felt that Francoist Spain was hostile towards her and thus decided never to return from South America, where

¹⁶ Núria Espert and Marcos Ordóñez, *De aire y fuego. Memorias* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2002), p. 98

¹⁷ All translations are my own

¹⁸ Espert and Ordóñez, pp. 104-5

¹⁹ Delgado identifies earlier productions of Lorca's work within the marginalised university sector or small scale theatre clubs. For more information, see Delgado 2008, p. 90

she remained until her death in 1969.²⁰ The opening of *Yerma* in 1971 was persistently prevented by government injunctions. Delgado suggests this was a consequence of Espert's appearance in Arrabal's subversive 1971 film *Viva la muerte*, which might have been viewed as 'an anti-Franco affiliation'.²¹ Delgado details that planned premieres in Barcelona, Tarragona and Madrid met with police intervention and that the premiere at Madrid's Comedia theatre on 29 November 1971 was a result of the company lobbying the theatre profession to strike.²² The company's choice of repertoire, as well as its persistence in the face of government obstacles, demarcated the company as diverging from the cultural construction of Spain under Franco. The company were, however, 'recuperated' to an extent by the Spanish government before their first WTS appearance. In a letter to Daubeny in 1971, Espert wrote,

Nous avons été obligés d'accepter même une réception à l'ambassade espagnole à Londres avec l'assistance de la princesse Anna, le jour de la première à l'Aldwych... je suis donc récupéré. Tu peux être mon ami sans danger.²³

[We have even been obliged to accept a reception at the Spanish Embassy in London with Princess Anna in attendance, on the day of the premiere at the Aldwych... So, I have been rehabilitated. You can be my friend without risk]

Daubeny also received a letter from the Spanish Embassy after the company's initial WTS appearance, which read,

it is also a matter of great satisfaction that at their first appearance in London the Spanish Company Núria Espert should have achieved so marked a success.²⁴

²⁰ See Delgado 2003, pp. 57-58

²¹ Ibid., p. 148

²² Ibid., p. 149

²³ Letter from Núria Espert to Peter Daubeny, 05 May 1971. Box 13, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁴ Letter from Marques de Santa Cruz to Peter Daubeny, 28 May 1971. Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

I would suggest that the pressure of the company's international success forced the Spanish government into some level of official acknowledgement of their importance. This never translated into material support for the company's work and it continued to be subject to censorship at home, although, as Delgado has pointed out, the company's growing status subsequently enabled Espert to mobilise international support whenever threatened by the censors.²⁵

Before the Núria Espert Company's international breakthrough at the Belgrade International Festival (BITEF) with *The Maids* in 1969,²⁶ the face of Spanish culture on the international stage was dominated by flamenco. Laura Kumin and Lourdes Orozco both detail the extent to which flamenco singers, dancers and guitarists had unparalleled freedom to tour nationally and internationally as Spain's cultural representatives under Franco. Orozco argues that the regime used flamenco as 'a sign that could represent the nation internationally... in order to mask the reality of a country beset by extreme poverty, political unrest and a fundamental disrespect for human rights'²⁷ and Kumin suggests that it was used as 'a non-controversial international commodity... to promote an image of Spain associated with bullfights, wine, sun, and sand'.²⁸ The dominance of flamenco as the international cultural face of Spain is manifest in Daubeny's early career as an international dance impresario. Between 1951 and 1959, he organized thirteen visits by Spanish

²⁵ Delgado 2003, p. 136

²⁶ The production won the Grand Prize, as well as nine other prizes. Peter Roberts, 'Belgrade International Festival', *Plays and Players*, November 1969, p. 55

²⁷ Lourdes Orozco, '*Flamenco: Performing the local/performing the state*', in Delgado and Gies, pp. 372-90 (p. 380)

²⁸ Laura Kumin, '*To Live is to Dance*', in Gies, pp. 298-306 (p. 300)

flamenco artists on London stages.²⁹ These visits were accompanied by essentialist pronouncements on Spanish culture in the British press. Richard Buckle described Rosario and Antonio's performance at the Cambridge Theatre in 1951 as 'the essential Spain',³⁰ and Elsa Brunelleschi praised Pilar López at the Palace Theatre in 1957 for being 'gracious, elegant or passionate, all the many ways of being Spanish'.³¹ The performance of *Coros y Danzas de España* (*Songs and Dances of Spain*), by the National Spanish Company of Dancers, Singers and Instrumentalists, which Daubeney presented at the Stoll Theatre in 1952, is perhaps the strongest indicator of the 'Spain' that the Franco regime wanted to perform. The programme demonstrates that this was an officially sanctioned production as the company appeared 'under the patronage of the Spanish ambassador H. E. the Duke of Primo de Rivera'. It describes the performance as capturing 'the Romance of Spain' and of being a 'pure and authentic interpretation of the National Spanish dance'.³² The reviews of opening night indicate that there was an audience protest. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that, 'thousands of leaflets fluttered down from the balconies',

²⁹ Rosario and Antonio, Cambridge Theatre (June - July 1951 and November - December 1951); Ballet Español de Pilar López, Cambridge Theatre (September 1951), Stoll Theatre (October 1953), Palace Theatre (November - December 1955 and August - September 1957), Princes Theatre (May 1959); *Coros y Danzas de España*, National Spanish Company of Dancers, Singers and Instrumentalists, Stoll Theatre (February - March 1952); Carmen Amaya and her Company of Spanish Gypsy Dancers, Cambridge Theatre (April - May 1952); Teresa and Luisillo – Spanish Fiesta Caravana Española with Paquita León, London Casino (November - December 1952); Antonio and his Spanish ballet, Stoll Theatre (February - April 1954), Palace Theatre (February - April 1955 and September - November 1956). For more information on Daubeney and Spanish dance, see Daubeney 1971

³⁰ Richard Buckle, 'A Great Dancer', *Observer*, 17 June 1951. Press cutting, Production Files for Rosario and Antonio, Cambridge Theatre, 1951, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹ Elsa Brunelleschi, 'Pilar Lopez' [sic.], *Observer*, 18 September 1957. Press Cutting, Production File for Ballet Español de Pilar López, Palace Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³² Production programme, Production File for *Songs and Dances of Spain*, Stoll Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

and that people shouted, 'Down with Franco' and 'Franco the assassin'.³³ The leaflets, written in both English and Spanish, were entitled, 'Nine Trade Unionists Executed in Barcelona'.³⁴ This incident demonstrates the audience deliberately undermining the pastoral depiction of Spain and is reflective of a tradition of anti-Franco campaigning in the UK, which Buchanan argues was at its peak from the late 1950s onwards. Two significant British campaigning organisations were established during this period: The Appeal for Amnesty in Spain and the Spanish Democrats' Defence Fund, both in 1959.³⁵

As this chapter will demonstrate, the Núria Espert Company presented a very different image of Spain to the dance offerings seen on the British stage a decade earlier. In the WTS production programme for *The Maids*, the company is introduced as 'the first Spanish drama company to be seen in this country'.³⁶ As such, the company played a key role in determining British audience's cultural conceptions of Spanish theatre. In the analysis that follows, I apply the terms 'Spain' and 'Spanish' to the company and its work, mindful of the multiple and complex ways in which these were used and understood both in the UK and in Spain during this period. I have chosen to use this terminology in part to reflect the company's categorisation in WTS discourse and in part as what Gies and Delgado

³³ 'Songs and Dances of Spain', *Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1952. Press cutting, *Songs and Dances of Spain*, Stoll Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance. This incident was also reported in the *Daily Mail*, the *Observer* and the *Manchester Guardian*

³⁴ Production File for *Songs and Dances of Spain*, Stoll Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance.

³⁵ Tom Buchanan, *The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain: War, Loss and Memory* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), p. 169

³⁶ Production programme, Production File for *The Maids*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

term 'a short-cut'.³⁷ Ultimately this chapter argues that the Núria Espert Company directly contributed to the development of more nuanced and complex understandings of Spain and Spanish culture in the UK.

The Maids

The Maids was the final production in the 1971 WTS, running from 17 to 22 May. In the following pages, I will briefly set up the 'conditions of reception'³⁸ for this production, by positioning it in relation to García's pre-established reputation as a leading avant-garde director and to previous productions of Genet's plays on the British stage. My subsequent analysis of the 'raw theatrical event'³⁹ at the WTS will be informed by these contexts and will draw on reception analysis to demonstrate how García's practice generated debate around director's theatre in the UK and signalled a new direction for interpretations of Genet plays. In the next section, I will address how the meanings produced went on to influence subsequent practice on the British stage.

Although the Núria Espert Company was new to the British stage, the WTS audience may have been familiar with García's work and aware of his reputation on the European theatre circuit. *The Maids* had already been reviewed by Peter Roberts in *Plays and Players* before its presentation at the WTS, as part of his report on the 1969 BITEF. Roberts praised García's 'spectacular treatment' of the play and explicitly compared his strength of vision to that of Peter Brook,⁴⁰ thus aligning his

³⁷ Delgado and Gies, p. 2

³⁸ Knowles 2004, p. 3

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Roberts, p. 55

work with the most daring avant-garde director working on the British stage. This was the first of many invocations of Brook in relation to García's work,⁴¹ with critics identifying a shared approach to text that was visual. As David Williams has observed, García and Brook had previously worked together on a project in 1968 as part of an international group of actors and directors in Paris.⁴² García also had his directorial debut on the UK stage three-month prior to the WTS appearance, presenting Fernando Arrabal's *The Architect and Emperor of Assyria* on the National Theatre's Lyttleton stage in February 1971. In the lead up to this production, the Stage Manager, Jackie Harvey, recalls that Laurence Olivier⁴³ asked her to keep a rehearsal diary because he was 'concerned that Víctor might be less than careful in the way he conducted the rehearsal period, and might demand impossible things at the last minute'.⁴⁴ In the first diary entry, made on 3 December 1970, Harvey noted that,

The director Víctor García is apparently well-known outside England for his eccentric approach to the classics, using them as the basis for large-scale, avant-garde "happenings", often with macabre and highly unorthodox staging.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Press cutting, Production File for *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, 1971; Production programme, Production File for *Yerma*, 1972 and 1973; Press cutting, Production File for *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, Roundhouse, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴² David Williams, 'Towards an art of memory': Peter Brook, a foreigner in Paris', in David Bradby and Maria M. Delgado, *The Paris Jigsaw: Internationalism and the City's Stages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 37-52 (p. 41)

⁴³ Laurence Olivier (1907-1989) was Founding Director of the National Theatre from 1963 to 1973

⁴⁴ Jackie Harvey, 'Preface', in Jackie Harvey and Tim Kelleher, *Stage Managing Chaos: A Diary of the Old Vic Production of Fernando Arrabal's The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2016), pp. 1-3 (p. 1)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14

Both Robert's *Plays and Players* review and Harvey's diary entry support Tim Kelleher's contention that, 'in 1971 García was internationally regarded as one of the *enfants terribles* of avant-garde theatre'.⁴⁶

The Architect confirmed García's reputation in the UK as a director promoting new theatrical forms. B. A. Young argued that the production was '...so unlike anything we have seen in the English theatre', describing the lights as his 'principal material' and suggesting that his 'visual effects are amazing'.⁴⁷ The reviews focus overwhelmingly on the visual impact of García's direction. In *Plays and Players* Esslin wrote 'with the simplest means: light, sounds, and a fork-lift truck, García creates a magical spectacle';⁴⁸ in the *Guardian*, Philip Hope-Wallace observed that the visual and aural elements of the production produced 'a genuine theatrical excitement';⁴⁹ and in *The Times*, Irving Wardle concluded that 'visually García is a magician'.⁵⁰ British critical reception was not unanimous in its praise for this approach, however, which demonstrates that García was already opening up debate about director's theatre before his appearances at the WTS. Hope-Wallace concluded that the production was missing 'a powerful *verbal* expression of pessimism'⁵¹ [emphasis in the original] and in the *Sunday Times* Hobson argued,

⁴⁶ Tim Kelleher, 'Introduction', in Harvey and Kelleher, pp. 5-12 (p. 9)

⁴⁷ B. A. Young, 'The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria', *Financial Times*, 4 February 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁸ Martin Esslin, 'Architect', *Plays and Players*, March 1971, p. 34

⁴⁹ Philip Hope-Wallace, 'Arrabal', 04 February 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁰ Irving Wardle, 'Arrabal's Emperor reduced to a ragged leather cloak', *The Times*, 04 February 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵¹ Hope-Wallace, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

‘never have there been so many lights with so little illumination’.⁵² The predominance of the visual is a characteristic which Rebecca Schneider, Gabrielle Cody, Delgado and Rebellato recognise as the key element distinguishing the modern director. Schneider and Cody discuss ‘the mark of the individual eye, the signature of an individual visual guide’⁵³ and Delgado and Rebellato argue that the key shared characteristic among what they define as ‘the new generation of directors that emerged from the tumult of the late 1960s’⁵⁴ was ‘marshalling all the resources of the stage in a wholly visual conception that was, perhaps for the first time, not dependent on the work of the playwright’.⁵⁵ Indeed, in an undated diary entry for November 1970, Kenneth Tynan⁵⁶ recalled Olivier asking García, ‘Has Arrabal approved your designs for this play?’ to which García replied, ‘I am equally as important as Arrabal’.⁵⁷ This demonstrates García aligning himself clearly with the theories of Antonin Artaud in *Le Theatre et son double*, who Cody describes as ‘famous for his insistence on ‘No More Masterpieces’ and his zeal to end the Western thrall to text as the primary determining property of theatrical experience’.⁵⁸ Cody describes this as ‘auteur theatre’ and lists the auteurs who

⁵² Harold Hobson, ‘Blinded by light’, *Sunday Times*, 07 February 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵³ Rebecca Schneider and Gabrielle Cody, ‘Introduction’, in Rebecca Schneider and Gabrielle Cody, eds, *Re:direction: A Theoretical and Practical Guide* (London, New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1-5 (p. 4)

⁵⁴ Maria M. Delgado and Dan Rebellato, ‘Introduction’, in Maria M. Delgado and Dan Rebellato, *Contemporary European Theatre Directors* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-23 (p. 1)

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2

⁵⁶ Kenneth Tynan (1927-1980) became the National Theatre’s first dramaturg in 1963

⁵⁷ Note 1 in John Lahr, ed., *The Diaries of Kenneth Tynan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), p. 21

⁵⁸ Cody, ‘Introduction to Part II: Auteur Theatre’, in Cody and Schneider, p. 125

come after Artaud as ‘Kantor, Monk, Wilson, Foreman, Bausch, and Abdoh’.⁵⁹ I would add García to this list and join my voice with Delgado, who observes that most English-language publications on directors have ‘inscribed a particular group of largely Northern European and Russian figures as the key innovators of directorial practice through the twentieth century’.⁶⁰ This chapter aims to contribute to her work foregrounding the role of Hispanic directors in shaping and expanding approaches to *mise en scène* in the twentieth century.

Now I will consider two significant pre-1971 productions of *The Maids* in order to demonstrate the extent to which García’s direction differed from previous interpretations on the London stage. The first was the UK French-language premiere at the Royal Court Theatre Club on 11 November 1952 and the second, the English-language premiere at the New Lindsey Theatre Club on 5 June 1956, in a translation by Bernard Frechtman. Both productions were directed by Peter Zadek. Many studies of Genet’s work make a link between the subject of the play and the real-world case of the Papin sisters. Described by Bradby and Finburgh as a case that was ‘notorious in France and would have been familiar to his [Genet’s] readers and audiences’,⁶¹ the case involved two sisters, Christine and Léa Papin, who were employed as domestic servants and brutally murdered their mistress and her daughter in Le Mans, France, in 1933. *The Maids* presents two sister-maidservants, Claire and Solange, who are trapped in a life of subservience to Madame and plot her murder. Despite these gestures to the real-world story, Bradby and Finburgh

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Delgado in Delgado and Rebellato, p. 277

⁶¹ Bradby and Finburgh, p. 37

attest that the play 'quickly departs from the historical facts'⁶² and White agrees that Genet 'played down the crime story aspect of his tale and played up its heroic, ritualistic and rhetorical possibilities'.⁶³ Genet himself distances the play from any real-world scenario, writing in the preface, 'il ne s'agit pas d'un plaidoyer sur le sort des domestiques. Je suppose qu'il existe un syndicat des gens de maison – cela ne nous regarde pas'⁶⁴ [this is not a plea for the fate of domestic servants. I imagine that a union exists for household staff – this is not our concern]. In the play, Claire and Solange attempt to achieve liberation from Madame by engaging in secret role-playing rituals whenever she is out. The ritual action involves Solange dressing up and playing Madame and Claire playing Solange. This creates a complex layering of identities, in which the sisters resist and ultimately aim to destroy Madame. Alongside this performative resistance, it becomes clear that the maids actively seek to effect real change in their situation. In the opening ritual, Claire admits to almost throttling Madame in her sleep, and the maids also reveal that they sent anonymous letters to the police denouncing Madame's lover. This first ritual is interrupted by a phone call from Monsieur, who has been released from jail. His discharge upturns their plan and, in a desperate bid to cover their tracks and escape the situation, the maids lace Madame's evening tea with poison. Upon her return, their mistress is too excited about the news of Monsieur's release to drink tea and leaves to be reunited with her lover. Alone once again, the maids engage in

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Edmund White, *Genet* (London: Vintage, 2004), p. 351

⁶⁴ Jean Genet, *Les Bonnes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), p. 12

an ultimate self-destructive ritual, in which Solange-playing-Claire gives Claire-playing-Madame the poisoned cup of tea.⁶⁵

The two significant London productions of *The Maids* before 1971 presented naturalistic interpretations of the relationship between the maids and their mistress. In the French-language production at the Royal Court in 1952, Madame was played by Betty Stockfield, Solange by Selma Vaz Dias, and Claire by Olive Gregg, all French-speaking English actresses. The synopsis provided by the production programme states, 'This is a play about hatred, the hatred of two maids, *Les Bonnes*, for their mistress'.⁶⁶ Analysis of the critical reviews demonstrates that the play was generally understood as being about servitude and the pathological extremes of emotion resulting from it. The *Evening Standard* described it as a 'whimsical perversion of the Cinderella theme'⁶⁷ and the *Daily Mail* suggested that Genet is 'studying a state of dementia – symbolically rather than actually – which could arise out of a too persistent servitude' and argued that it reveals 'a psychological truth'.⁶⁸ Other critics questioned the play's morality and cast doubt on its merit as a piece of dramatic literature. In a review tellingly entitled, 'Jean Genet', Hobson offered a playwright-centric analysis and argued that *The Maids* represents 'the Genet of moral obliquity, of unmentionable actions and images'. He dedicated more than half the article to discussions of Genet's 'prose of absolute simplicity and the most perfect music'. This, Hobson argued, is 'the Genet who

⁶⁵ For a full textual analysis of the play see Bradby and Finburgh, pp. 32-47

⁶⁶ Production programme, Production File for *Les Bonnes*, Royal Court Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁷ Press cutting, Production File for *Les Bonnes*, Royal Court Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁸ Ibid.

really matters'.⁶⁹ Hope-Wallace also raised a moral concern, describing the play as 'nasty fantasy... veiled in the decent obscurity of a foreign language'.⁷⁰ This first production, then, resulted in reductive understandings of the play's subject and won no support among opinion formers in the key national broadsheets.

Four years later, the English-language premiere was understood along similar lines. Although the production programme contains no synopsis or notes, analysis of the critical reception reveals that the play was once again understood as exploring the psychological impact of servitude. In his review for the *Daily Telegraph*, W. A. Darlington argued that 'it explores the depths to which human nature can be driven by hatred, jealousy and a sense of personal degradation'⁷¹ and *The Times* review suggested 'Genet's subject is the soul of servitude'.⁷² The question of morality had been addressed by the Lord Chamberlain. Reports and correspondence in the Lord Chamberlain's Plays Collection held at the British Library reveal that the play was initially refused a licence. In correspondence, the Lord Chamberlain described the play as 'unwholesome and macabre' and raised concerns about its 'suggestion of Lesbianism', which he concluded invests 'those other characteristics with a depravity which makes the play unsuitable for public performance before mixed audiences'.⁷³ Subsequent correspondence between the Lord Chamberlain's Office, Frechtman and Genet demonstrates that the offending elements were removed,

⁶⁹ Press cutting, Production File for *Les Bonnes*, Royal Court Theatre, 1952, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, New Lindsey Theatre, 1956, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Lord Chamberlain's Play Correspondence, LCP CORR 1952/1, British Library

and the play eventually granted a licence on 24 February 1953.⁷⁴ These two initial productions were followed by minor revivals at the Arts Cambridge in 1963, the Oxford Playhouse and at LAMDA in 1964, the Little Theatre in 1965 and the Phoenix in Leicester in May 1970.

The Núria Espert Company's production of *The Maids* was the first significant staging in the UK to break with this naturalistic tradition and align Genet's text with avant-garde performance practice. Brook's experimentation with Genet's *The Screens* as part of his Theatre of Cruelty season at the Donmar in 1964 represented an initial gesture towards the avant-garde potential of Genet's work, but these scenes were performed under club conditions and did not lead to a full-scale production.⁷⁵ Existing studies of Espert's production of *The Maids* agree that the production plays a pivotal role in the production history of Genet plays. It has arguably received particularly extensive critical scrutiny because the playwright explicitly praised the production, arguing that it was 'une conception admirable qui rajeunit mon texte et lui donne un éventail de dimensions nouvelles'⁷⁶ [an admirable conception, which breathes new life into my text and lends it a range of new dimensions]. The production's departure from Genet's text was registered by the French critical establishment at the time, when the production was chosen as a case study for a research project into the relationship between text and performance. In the 'Avant-Propos' to his production analysis, Jean Jacquot argues

⁷⁴ Lord Chamberlain's Play, LCP 1953/5250, British Library

⁷⁵ Chambers 2004, p. 43

⁷⁶ An interview with Spanish theatre critic José Monleón, originally published in *Triunfo* on 8 January 1969. Cited in Denis Bablet and Jean Jacquot, eds, *Les Voies de la Création Théâtrale, Volume IV* (Paris : Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), p. 108

that 'la conjonction Genet- García- Núria Espert nous oblige à porter un regard entièrement nouveau sur l'œuvre'⁷⁷ [the meeting of minds between Genet-García- Núria Espert makes us see the play in a completely new light] and in her production analysis, Carmen Compte argues that 'la mise en scène espagnole éminemment visuelle et musicale n'était pas au service du texte, elle allait plus loin'⁷⁸ [the highly visual and musical Spanish staging did not serve the text. It went beyond it]. Since then, Ian Magedera has argued that García 'reinterpreted the play in such a radical way that he almost created it anew', suggesting that it was in fact García's staging that made the text 'a classic'.⁷⁹ Delgado argues that the production 'provided a prototype that allowed the play to negotiate a space beyond either the humanist emphasis on the degradation of social oppression or the academic sado-masochistic essay on pathological obsession'⁸⁰ and Bradby and Finburgh suggest that the production is 'arguably the most celebrated production of *The Maids*' because García's approach departed from the text and responded 'in imaginative ways that Genet could perhaps not have anticipated'.⁸¹ In the following production analysis, I will demonstrate how García displaced Genet as primary 'auteur', deploying all the materials of the stage (space, set, lighting, sound, bodies) to serve his own unique non-naturalistic interpretation.

⁷⁷ Jean Jacquot, 'Avant-Propos' in Bablet and Jacquot, pp. 5-8 (p. 5)

⁷⁸ Carmen Compte, 'Les Bonnes dans la réalisation espagnole de Víctor García' in Bablet and Jacquot, pp. 257-78 (p. 264)

⁷⁹ Ian Magedera, *Jean Genet: Les Bonnes* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow French and German Publications, 1998), p. 21

⁸⁰ Maria M. Delgado, 'Las criadas, Genet and Spain', in Clare Finburgh, Carl Lavery and Maria Shevtsova, eds, *Jean Genet: Performance and Politics* (Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), pp. 146-51 (p. 151)

⁸¹ Bradby and Finburgh, p. 110

García directed Expert as Claire, Julieta Serrano as Solange and Mayrata

O'Wiesedo⁸² as La Señora (Madame). He worked with designer Enrique Alarcón to create a scenographic environment, which visually marked a break from naturalism.

Genet's stage directions set the play in,

La chambre de Madame. Meubles Louis XV. Au fond, une fenêtre ouverte sur la façade de l'immeuble en face. À droite, le lit. À gauche, une porte et une commode. Des fleurs à profusion.⁸³

[Madame's bedroom. Louis XV furniture. At the back, an open window onto the building opposite. A bed stage right. Stage left, a door and a chest of drawers. There is a profusion of flowers]

Where Zadek's productions had followed these directions, and represented a naturalistic bedroom on stage, García and Alarcón created a minimalist, a-historical setting. The set comprised a steeply raked iron stage, weighing six tonnes,⁸⁴ which Nicholas De Jongh estimated was set at an angle of approximately 45 degrees.⁸⁵ The rake led down to a circular bed, which was inset, measuring approximately two metres in diameter,⁸⁶ and covered in black cloth. The stage area was enclosed by a semi-circle of fourteen aluminium panels, standing at a height of thirty feet.⁸⁷ These panels were alternately matt and shiny, with the shiny ones behaving like mirrors, presenting multiple distorted reflections of the actresses [see Figure 5]. This served as a visual manifestation of the unstable multiplicity of the identities presented on

⁸² O'Wiesiedo was unable to come to London and was replaced by María Paz Ballesteros at the WTS

⁸³ Genet 2001, p. 15. 'Louis XV' is 'a term used to define a French Rococo style in the decorative arts

⁸⁴ Fiche Technique. Box 13, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

⁸⁵ Nicholas de Jongh, 'The Maids', *Guardian*, 18 May 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁶ Fiche Technique. Box 13, Folder 3, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

⁸⁷ De Jongh, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

stage. In an interview about the rehearsal process, Espert described how García asked her and Serrano to mine as many layers of identity as possible. She recalled that,

Ainsi le numéro un serait Solange, le numéro deux Claire, le numéro trois Claire-Solange, quand Claire joue Solange... nous avons même réussi à trouver ainsi quarante-sept plans en travaillant !⁸⁸

[So number one would be Solange, number two would be Claire, number three would be Claire-Solange, when Claire plays Solange... we actually managed to find forty-seven layers using this method in our work!]

Espert argued that this task enabled her and Serrano to craft performances which were 'riche' [rich] and which suggested 'mille autres choses très différentes' [a thousand things, all very different]. In their matching costumes of 'shabby black, with laddered stockings and knee bandages',⁸⁹ Espert and Serrano reflected each other, as well as being each in turn reflected multiple times in the panels. This communicated their interchangeability as domestic servants as well as the instability of this identity, a notion which was further emphasized when the actors engaged in the role-playing. When assuming the role of La Señora, Espert donned 'red and black robes' and 'huge artificial boots',⁹⁰ reflecting the maids' image of La Señora, herself played by an actress presenting an image of a mistress. Bradby, Finburgh and Delgado point to this function of the panels and suggest that they communicated the notion that the actresses were not representing particular maids and their mistress, but the *image* of maids and mistresses.⁹¹ In addition, the fact that the panels were close-set and reminiscent of a prison cell suggested that

⁸⁸ Núria Espert, Interview with Carmen Compte, in Bablet and Jacquot, p. 260

⁸⁹ Irving Wardle, 'The Maids', *The Times*, 18 May 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹⁰ Peter Ansorge, 'The Maids', *Plays and Players*, July 1971, p. 48

⁹¹ Bradby and Finburgh, p. 42; Delgado 2003, p. 142

the images that the characters construct of themselves and of each other are not liberating, but are in fact a trap. The panels communicated the violence of this confinement through the noise they made when they the actors brushed past them. The panels were set on a pivot to enable the actors to enter and exit, but in his review, Frank Marcus described how this contact caused the panels to reverberate 'like thunder sheets'⁹² or resound with what Espert describes as 'un chasquido violento y metálico'⁹³ [a violent and metallic crash]. Through the metaphorical, scenic conceit of these reflective panels, García created a multiplicity of visual images which enriched a central theme of the play beyond previous interpretations in performance.



Figure 5: Mayreta O'Wisiedo (La Señora), *The Maids*, 1969. Photograph by Faixat.

⁹² Frank Marcus, 'Inquest on the artist', *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 May 1971, p. 16

⁹³ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 103

García turned the stage into a space of transformation that drew on the mechanics and rituals of the Catholic mass. Espert describes the set as ‘una capilla extraterrestre, un temple sacrificial’⁹⁴ [an other-worldly chapel, a sacrificial temple], an image which is alluded to in many critical reviews. Hobson suggested that, ‘when Claire raises the cup of poison to her lips it is the sacrifice that is invoked’⁹⁵ and Peter Ansorge similarly observed that the production ‘transforms Genet’s poisoned teacup into a ritualistic goblet’.⁹⁶ This is applied to another prop by Marcus, who remarked that, ‘a long metal clothes-hanger becomes a processional cross – and an instrument of torture’.⁹⁷ García also applied this aesthetic of transformation to his direction of the actors, through his technique of dehumanisation. He wrote a chapter on directorial approach in a volume for Fernando Arrabal, in which he outlines,

j’exige que leur ‘ego’ soit abandonné dans leur loge ! j’essaie de les ‘déshumaniser’ au maximum ; afin qu’ils deviennent aussi disponible que cet espace clair et vide dont je rêve... je veux les débarrasser de leurs petits coin sales, de leurs habitudes. Je les veux ‘neufs’.⁹⁸
 [I demand that they leave their ego in the dressing room! I try to ‘dehumanise’ them as much as possible; so that they become as receptive as this clear and empty space that I dream of... I want to rid them of all their murky corners, of their habits. I want them to be ‘new’]

The non-naturalism or ‘dehumanisation’ of the actors’ performance was created through voice and physicality. Many reviews reflected on the non-naturalistic register of the actors’ voices. De Jongh defined it as ‘operatic’ and described their

⁹⁴ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 103

⁹⁵ Harold Hobson, ‘Genet’s Dark Genius’, *Sunday Times*, 23 May 1971, p. 29

⁹⁶ Peter Ansorge, ‘The Maids’, *Plays and Players*, July 1971, p. 48

⁹⁷ Frank Marcus, ‘Inquest on the artist’, *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 May 1971, p. 16

⁹⁸ Víctor García, ‘Déshumaniser !’ in Fernando Arrabal, ed., *Le théâtre 1968.1 : Cahiers dirigés par Arrabal* (Paris: Christian Bourgois Editeur, 1968), pp. 71-79 (p. 78)

‘whining’ and ‘groaning’.⁹⁹ Wardle described their delivery as ‘incantation’¹⁰⁰ and Compte described how their cries become part of ‘tout un univers de sonorités’ [a whole universe of sounds] and that, in their mouths, the words were not only ‘outils de pensée’ [tools of thought] but also became ‘éléments de spectacle, son, rythme’¹⁰¹ [elements of the production, sound, rhythm]. This reflects an observation made by the lighting designer David Hersey who worked with García on several productions.¹⁰² Hersey noted that, ‘Víctor regarded text as a material, like a prop, you can squeeze it, cut it, shape it, redo it, it doesn’t matter’.¹⁰³ Espert recalls that Genet’s text was the final element to be added in the rehearsal process, demonstrating that the text was not central to the meaning-making in the production. Voice was not only used to deliver lines but was also integrated into the soundscape and rhythm of the production as a whole.

The physicality of the actors was similarly non-naturalistic. Many images in the critical reception compare Espert and Serrano’s physicality to animals. Marcus spoke of their ‘animal ferocity’ and described them as ‘hoarse-voiced, clawing at each other’.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Compte described them as assuming a ‘position agressive de lionnes’¹⁰⁵ [aggressive posture of lionesses]. This is given further weight by Espert’s recollections of the rehearsal process, in which she details García’s

⁹⁹ De Jongh, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁰⁰ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁰¹ Compte in Bablet and Jacquot, p. 260

¹⁰² *The Architect and the Emperor of Assyria*, National Theatre, UK, 1971; *Les Bonnes*, Espace Pierre Cardin, France, 1971; *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, Shiraz Festival, Iran, 1974

¹⁰³ David Hersey, Interview with Author, 12 March 2015

¹⁰⁴ Marcus 1971, p. 16

¹⁰⁵ Compte in Bablet, p. 267

direction to behave like cats.¹⁰⁶ The movement of the actors was to a large extent determined by the scenographic environment. The sharp rake, for example, exacted non-naturalistic movement. In the opening ritual, Hobson explained how Espert and Serrano 'scrabble on all fours in abject abasement'¹⁰⁷ and Ansorge described them as 'crawling cripples'.¹⁰⁸ Their precarious physicality was exacerbated further by the introduction of the afore-mentioned 'huge artificial boots'¹⁰⁹ or cothurni,¹¹⁰ which were worn by both Ballesteros as La Señora and by Espert as Claire in the role of La Señora.¹¹¹ The physicality of the maids and the impact of the shoes further emphasized the instability of character identity and set up a stark contrast between the horizontal plane occupied by the maids and the vertical plane occupied by La Señora and by Solange playing La Señora in the cothurni. This was also manifest in La Señora's entrance, who first appeared descending on a swing. García conceived space as a director by applying principles of architecture. He explains,

L'essentiel est de trouver une architecture. Je n'aime pas parler en termes traditionnels : côté cour et côté jardin etc., je préfère penser lignes horizontales ou diagonales, côté nord, sud...¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 102

¹⁰⁷ Hobson 1971, p. 29

¹⁰⁸ Ansorge 1971, p. 48

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Cothurni were boots worn by tragic actors in Ancient Greece to elevate them above the other actors. In his monograph, *Avant-Garde Theatre 1892 – 1992*, Christopher Innes argues that this return to the rituals of Ancient Greece is integral to the 'primitivism', which he identifies as one of the hallmarks of the avant-garde. Christopher Innes, *Avant-Garde Theatre 1892 – 1992* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 3

¹¹¹ Delgado suggests that García adopted the use of these from *The Balcony*, in which Genet requests that the actors perform in shoes with twenty inch soles. Delgado in Finburgh, Lavery and Shevtsova, p. 147

¹¹² Víctor García, 'Déshumaniser!', *Le théâtre 1968.1: Cahiers dirigés par Arrabal* (Paris: Christian Bourgois Editeur, 1968) p. 72

[The most important thing is to find an architecture. I don't like speaking in traditional terms: stage left and stage right etc., I prefer to think in horizontal or diagonal lines, north and south...]

This approach to design is corroborated by Espert, who recalls that,

Víctor detestaba las convenciones escenográficas. Para él no había izquierda o derecha, telares o cajas, sino líneas de tensión: horizontales, diagonales, norte, sur.¹¹³

[Víctor hated scenographic conventions. For him, there was no stage left or right, fly system or backstage, but lines of tension: horizontal, diagonal, north, south]

Juan Carlos Malcún suggests that García's experience working alongside his sister in an architectural firm in Buenos Aires was where he began to handle elements of technical drawing and to learn concepts of design and architectural scale.¹¹⁴ He then applied this to his direction of actors in such a way that their movements were not defined by naturalistic impulses, but instead by a scenographic environment, which was itself unconventionally conceived by architectural and spatial 'lines of tension'.

By applying the principles of transformation and dehumanisation to his directorial approach, García sought to break with tradition and reach beyond established aesthetic boundaries. For Hobson, this was central to the production's power. In the *Sunday Times*, he described how the 'pitch of ecstasy' reached by the production was created by 'every restraint of manners, behaviour, speech and dress' being 'recklessly thrown into oblivion'.¹¹⁵ Hobson opened his review thus,

¹¹³ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 103

¹¹⁴ Juan Carlos Malcún, *Los muros y las puertas en el teatro de Víctor García* (Buenos Aires: INTeatro, 2011), p. 45

¹¹⁵ Hobson 1971, p. 29

in the eighty minutes of Víctor García's production of *The Maids* (Aldwych; World Theatre Season) we make more progress towards understanding Jean Genet that we have done in all the previous twenty years.¹¹⁶

He went on to explain that, in his view, the success of this production lay in the frenzy, passion and ecstasy achieved by the actors. For Hobson, previous naturalistic interpretations, which 'considered it an ordinary story of class hatred' made the climatic killing of the maid, instead of the mistress, 'incomprehensible'.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Wardle argued that the 'electrifying partnership' of Espert and Serrano 'enlarges the text into dance and incantation' and 'holds the production to a course of disciplined frenzy'.¹¹⁸ For both, the non-naturalistic performances were the key to unlocking Genet's text and indeed, moving beyond it. This is a sentiment expressed by Ansorge who suggested that, 'García's production explores the maids' world in much greater depth than, perhaps, even Genet's wildest dreams might have suggested'.¹¹⁹ and Marcus argued that, 'Genet's perverted eroticism, his apotheosis of criminality, and his gleeful relish for the physically disgusting, have been abstracted by García into poetry'.¹²⁰ Not all critics were unanimous in their praise for García's approach. Felix Barker concluded that, 'superficially, the result is impressive, but – regrettably – it is also more than a little ridiculous'.¹²¹ and De Jongh suggested that, in Garcia's conception, 'the play becomes more a clever exhibition than a drama'.¹²² De Jongh's criticism opposed 'drama' with 'exhibition',

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹¹⁹ Ansorge 1971, p. 49

¹²⁰ Marcus 1971, p. 16

¹²¹ Felix Barker, 'The Maids, World Theatre Season, Aldwych', *Evening News*, 18 May 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²² De Jongh, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

which suggests his conviction that the visual should not subsume the verbal. This is also implicit in Barker's assessment of 'superficiality', which suggests that the visual impact of a production would never reach the interpretive depths of a more text-centred approach.

García's wholesale break from naturalism and his application of the principles of transformation and dehumanisation created a production of *The Maids* that went beyond the aesthetic boundaries of the earlier realizations seen on the British stage. García's radical presentation of the actor in space linked his aesthetic and the Núria Espert Company with the most daring and innovative movements in Western European theatre, revealing a very different facet of Spanish theatre which questioned the dominant image of flamenco as the performative face of Spain.

The Legacy of *The Maids* on the British stage

Before 1971, there had not been a production of a Genet play in the West End for twenty years. After the Núria Espert Company's production of *The Maids*, there was an immediate resurgence of revivals: *The Balcony* (RSC, Aldwych Theatre, 1971); *The Maids* (Young Vic, 1972); *The Screens* (Bristol Old Vic, 1973); and *The Maids* (Greenwich Theatre, 1974), the last of which was adapted to film in 1975. The re-emergence of Genet in the repertoire of key British theatrical institutions demonstrates the pivotal role that the Núria Espert Company, and by extension the WTS, had in reviving interest in Genet's work. In this section I will analyse several of these revivals to demonstrate how the Núria Espert Company production influenced subsequent stagings, developing performative idioms through which

Genet was interpreted, and shaping emerging models of direction and design on the British stage.

The Maids had both an immediate and long-term impact on repertoires and approaches to directing and acting at the RSC. By programming *The Maids*, Daubeney was already bringing the WTS into dialogue with the RSC's earlier experiments with Genet's *The Screens*. Six months after the Núria Espert Company's appearance at the 1971 WTS, RSC director Terry Hands revived *The Balcony* as part of the RSC's 1971/1972 Season at the Aldwych Theatre, opening on 25 November 1971.¹²³ This production has received scholarly attention in the context of Genet's politics,¹²⁴ not least because Hands commissioned a new translation, which incorporated additional material written by Genet for the revolutionary scenes. I would suggest, however, that attending to the production's material expression in terms of 'movements performed, scenographies designed, sounds produced, work done',¹²⁵ demonstrates how the Núria Espert Company production was the direct inspiration for this revival and had a clear influence on Hands' approach to staging the play.

Hands' production was particularly invested in functioning as an act of cultural translation, reimagining Genet for the British stage. The production programme draws out the elements of the play's production history that link directly with the UK, citing London's Arts Theatre as the location of the world premiere in 1957 and

¹²³ Production File for *The Balcony*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁴ Bradby and Finburgh, pp. 139-40

¹²⁵ Harvie 2005, p. 114

mentioning that the French premiere was directed by a British director, Peter Brook. The new translation, which Hands worked on with Barbara Wright,¹²⁶ transposed the play into a British context. Hobson observed that Hands' transferred the action to Birmingham¹²⁷ and Wardle wrote, 'one of the tarts becomes Glaswegian. The Chief of Police is given a British uniform. Lucrezia Borgia is replaced with Nell Gwynne'.¹²⁸ Neither Hobson nor Wardle thought that this transposition was successful. Hobson described the decision to set the play in Birmingham as 'an error of staggering proportions' and Wardle described Hands' attempts to render it into a British context as 'piecemeal', arguing '*The Balcony* certainly has significance for the British public; but it will only be grasped when the work is seen as the product of a Satanic tradition belonging to Roman Catholic culture'. I would suggest that this latter criticism reveals Wardle's investment in García's interpretation as a benchmark for assessment of subsequent revivals of Genet plays. Despite these criticisms, Wardle praised the production for achieving 'Genet's blend of soaring eloquence, visual magic, and brusque realist comedy'; Hobson concluded, 'Mr Hands' production is the nearest approach to Genet we have yet had in England in English'; and Billington opened his review arguing, 'last night something remarkable happened on the stage of the Aldwych Theatre: an English director got close to the heart and spirit of Jean Genet'.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Barbara Wright (1915-2009) was a translator of French literature

¹²⁷ Harold Hobson, 'Reality on trial', *Sunday Times*, 28 November 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Balcony*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁸ Irving Wardle, 'The Balcony', *The Times*, 26 November 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Balcony*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁹ Michael Billington, 'The Balcony', *Guardian*, 26 November 1971. Press cutting, Production file for *The Balcony*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Hands' treatment of the central themes of fantasy and masquerade visually reflected García's expression of these themes. In *The Maids* García explored the central metaphor of the 'image' using reflective panels. In *The Balcony*, Hands worked with the designer Farrah to create what Billington described as 'kaleidoscopic designs'.¹³⁰ The production began with a 'mirrored front cloth', which rose to reveal 'Madame Irma's multi-roomed bordello' and plunged the audience into what Billington described as 'a strange world of phantasmagoric charade'. Wardle also observed that 'the audience see themselves reflected in a mirrored scrim',¹³¹ and John Barber described a 'mirror-filled dreamland'.¹³² In another visual echo of *The Maids*, and in accordance with Genet's stage directions in *The Balcony*, Hands also put his actors in 'steel cothurni' when the brothel clients are playing the roles of bishops, judges and generals. Like García's production, these cothurni elevated the actors to reflect ideas of social hierarchy, whilst simultaneously communicating the instability of such identities through the stylised, non-naturalistic movement the shoes necessitated. I would suggest that the visual elements in Hands' production were directly citing García's production and were being employed by Hands in a similar fashion, to communicate the fundamental notion that the image is in fact the reality and that human society is fundamentally constructed on myth.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹³² John Barber, 'Audacious revival of Genet's 'Balcony'', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1971. Press cutting, Production File for *The Balcony*, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Hands' production also cited García's production in its surfacing of the ritualistic, ceremonial and liturgical elements of Genet's play. The language used by critics in reviews often echoed their analyses of García's production. Billington argued that 'in the past native productions have consistently missed the solemn, liturgical element under Genet's exotic, fantastic façade' and concluded that Hands' production 'both emphasizes Genet's delight in the formal ritual of the Mass and highlights the fact that in this play sex, power and religion become inextricably intertwined'.¹³³ This also found expression in the radical, non-naturalistic presentation of the actor. Wardle praised Helen Mirren and Philip Locke for the horse and general scene, which he argued they played 'with a beautiful grasp of its ascent from sexual fun and games into ecstatic fulfilment that leaves straightforward physical pleasure far behind'.¹³⁴ Hobson also picked out Mirren's performance in the scenes, suggesting that she had 'true erotic mettle in her prancing horse' and that she was 'astounding in the whinnying of the Marche Funèbre'.¹³⁵ Estelle Kohler as Carmen also received high praise for the combination of sexual and religious yearning in her performance. Hobson described her as 'the whore whose spirit is exalted at the moment of the Immaculate Conception' and suggested that she was 'consumed by a yearning emotion of religious adoration'. Wardle described her performance as 'authentic Genet: the skilful versatile whore with the delivery of a saint and falling into liquidly fluent attitudes of the pieta'. I would suggest that the animalistic and erotic dimensions to the actors'

¹³³ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹³⁴ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹³⁵ Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

performance indicate the influence of Espert and Serrano's performance as the maids in García's production and demonstrate how the WTS also had an influence on modes of acting in the UK. It is notable that only the women are described in erotic terms. This seems to indicate a heavily gendered approach to theatre criticism, which I would suggest is in large part due to the predominance of male voices in broadsheet criticism of this era. I will expand this observation below in my analysis of the influence of Espert's radical presentation of the body on acting practices in the UK.

Hands' 1971 production of *The Balcony* demonstrated the immediate impact of *The Maids* on the RSC repertoire, as well as on approaches to non-naturalistic acting, directing and design. Carl Lavery positions Hands, along with Brook, as 'Genet's most influential champion in Britain',¹³⁶ citing Hands' revival of his 1971 production of *The Balcony* in 1987, when he was the RSC's Artistic Director. The revival was to be part of a Genet Season, for which he planned to stage all Genet's plays in new translations. Productions of *The Screens* and *The Blacks* fell through and the season comprised the revival of *The Balcony* as well as a double bill of *Deathwatch* and *The Maids* in new adaptations by David Rudkin directed by Gerard Murphy and Ultz.¹³⁷ Although the Genet season was ultimately truncated, traces of its impact were felt as recently as 2016, when David Rudkin revisited his adaptation of *Deathwatch* for a revival at the Print Room at the Coronet.¹³⁸ This took place in the same year as a

¹³⁶ Carl Lavery, 'An Interview with Terry Hands' in Finburgh, Lavery and Shevtsova, pp. 199-208 (p. 199)

¹³⁷ For more information on the Genet season see Chambers 2004, p. 93 and Lavery in Finburgh, Lavery and Shevtsova, p. 205

¹³⁸ <http://www.the-print-room.org/past-productions/spring-2016/deathwatch/> [accessed on 23 October 2017]

revival of *The Maids* at the Trafalgar Studios.¹³⁹ These traces indicate the WTS's enduring impact on repertoires on the British stage.

I would also position the revivals of *The Maids* at the Young Vic in 1972 and at the Greenwich Theatre in 1974 as direct responses to the Núria Espert Company production. The Young Vic revival opened on 10 April, running simultaneous to the Núria Espert Company's production of *Yerma* at the 1972 WTS.¹⁴⁰ Whilst I have found no evidence to confirm that this timing was deliberate, I would suggest that the Young Vic programme was responding to and complementing the WTS. Director Frank Dunlop cast *The Maids* as an all-male production¹⁴¹ and programmed it as a double-bill with *Deathwatch*. These decisions were justified in the production programme by citing Jean-Paul Sartre, who reported that Genet did not want the roles to be played by women, and had drawn parallels between the character structures of both plays.¹⁴² These decisions drew mixed responses from the critics, who explicitly used the García production as a benchmark in their assessments. In relation to the all-male casting, Wardle asserted that the decision 'knocks the dynamics out of the play' and observed that Dunlop's version 'omits the deathly serious sense of inexorable ceremony'.¹⁴³ Billington suggested that the production 'dwindles into theatrical camp' and argued that 'anyone who saw Núria Espert's

¹³⁹ 20 February to 21 May 2016

¹⁴⁰ 17-22 April 1972 (see Appendix)

¹⁴¹ Nicky Henson played Solange, Andrew Robertson played Claire and Richard Kane played Madame

¹⁴² Production programme, Production File for *The Maids* and *Deathwatch*, Young Vic, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴³ Irving Wardle, 'The Maids and Deathwatch: Young Vic', *The Times*, 14 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids* and *Deathwatch*, Young Vic, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

classic production will miss its atmosphere of seedy eroticism and its suggestion that we are never far from the world of the Catholic mass'.¹⁴⁴ Barber was the only key advocate, arguing that 'the sex-switch provides only another layer of strangeness, of ambiguity, of cold and jarring perversity'.¹⁴⁵

The scenographic environment created by Dunlop in collaboration with set designer, Carl Toms,¹⁴⁶ served to underline the gender-swapping conceit at the heart of their reading of the play. The production's visual impact did not receive extended critical attention, but Barber described the set as 'a shocking pink boudoir'¹⁴⁷ and Billington observed the inclusion of a Louis Quinze bed.¹⁴⁸ Production photographs held at the V&A demonstrate that both the bed and the dressing table were covered in lace, the floor was covered in furs, and that there were flowers on stage.¹⁴⁹ I would suggest that the set deliberately comprised colours and fabrics that have feminine connotations to underline further the gender-swapping, whilst closely observing the stage directions set out by Genet at the beginning of the play. Although this conception appears to owe little to García's break with naturalistic scenography in *The Maids*, Wardle argued that 'Mr Dunlop has apparently picked up some useful tips from Víctor García in the handling of

¹⁴⁴ Michael Billington, 'Genet Plays', *Guardian*, 14 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids* and *Deathwatch*, Young Vic, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴⁵ John Barber, 'Genet Double Bill has One Theme', *Daily Telegraph*, 14 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids* and *Deathwatch*, Young Vic, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴⁶ Carl Toms (1927 – 1999) was a Set and Costume Designer

¹⁴⁷ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴⁸ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴⁹ Photograph File for *The Maids*, Young Vic, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

props' and described how Madame's red velvet dress was 'fondled as a lover, wound up into a whip, and personified as the amorous handman in Solange's fantasy'.¹⁵⁰ This mirrors the processes of transformation undergone by actors, props and costumes in *The Maids* and represents a break from naturalism, which drew attention to the fundamental theatricality at the heart of Dunlop's interpretation: gender as performance.

The 1974 revival of *The Maids* at the Greenwich Theatre can be interpreted as overtly in dialogue with the Espert production. Directed by Minos Volanakis¹⁵¹ and designed by Yolanda Sonnabend,¹⁵² this production was defined by its emphasis on design and contained visual references to García's work. It is likely that Sonnabend saw the Espert production. Not only was her conception for the play visually in close communication with García's, but also the scenographer Pamela Howard recalled that she often went to see WTS productions with Sonnabend, who studied with her at the Slade School of Fine Art.¹⁵³ Sonnabend's design takes precedence in the production programme, where she filled a double-page spread with reflections on her working processes and images of her designs. In the opening paragraph of his review, Wardle reflected on this and wrote, 'instead of commenting on the play, the Greenwich programme carries a note on the design'.¹⁵⁴ Wardle's observation

¹⁵⁰ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵¹ Minos Volanakis (1925-1999) directed many Genet plays, including *The Balcony* (Oxford Playhouse, 1967); *The Blacks: A Clown Show* (Oxford Playhouse, 1970); and the Broadway premiere of *The Screens* in 1971

¹⁵² Yolanda Sonnabend (1935-2015) designed for theatre and opera but worked predominantly in ballet and regularly collaborated with choreographer Kenneth MacMillan

¹⁵³ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

¹⁵⁴ Irving Wardle, 'Sense muffled by rhetoric', *The Times*, 20 February 1974. Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

drew attention to the fact that the traditional play-oriented interpretive approach had been displaced with emphasis on the design element of the production. I would suggest that this demonstrates García's contribution to a shift away from the privileging of the text over other visual modes of communication. This is supported by the reviewer for the *Sunday Telegraph*, who explicitly linked Volanakis and Sonnabend's emphasis on design with the Núria Espert Company production, arguing that they were 'conscious of following in the footsteps of the wildly daring Víctor García'.¹⁵⁵

Like García's and Alarcón's conception for *The Maids*, Sonnabend's design broke with naturalism. Its central image was described by Sonnabend as 'a petal, the shape of the nautilus Pompilius, and the vague palimpsest of the Elysée Palace'.¹⁵⁶ In the set this became what Wardle described as a 'concave biomorph, part shell part flower petal',¹⁵⁷ which was situated in the middle of the stage and contained Madame's bed. I would suggest this focal point functioned as an abstraction of Genet's stage directions that there should be 'des fleurs à profusion' [a profusion of flowers].¹⁵⁸ The image of Madame on her bed in the centre of the shell-like structure also communicated Sonnabend's image of Madame as 'the pearl inside the oyster',¹⁵⁹ evoking her wealth. As in Dunlop's production, Madame's wealth was also communicated through the opulent presence of furs strewn on the floor.

¹⁵⁵ Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵⁶ Production programme, Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵⁷ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵⁸ Genet 2001, p. 15

¹⁵⁹ Production programme, Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

However, in Volanakis and Sonnabend's conception, the furs lay 'ankle-deep', causing the actors to 'stagger'.¹⁶⁰ This non-naturalistic movement was exacerbated further by the 'trampoline' effect of the stretched canvas floor. In a similar way to the rake and cothurni in *The Maids*, the trampoline and the furs necessitated non-naturalistic movement, communicating the shifting and unstable identities of the characters. The use of the trampoline reflected García's conception for *Yerma*, the second production presented by the Núria Espert Company at the WTS in 1972 and 1973, which is discussed in greater detail below. These scenic elements represented direct echoes of García's ideas and were being applied by Sonnabend to similar effect. I would suggest that this represents a UK-based¹⁶¹ designer overtly acknowledging García's work as inspiration.

Unlike the García production, however, Sonnabend's non-naturalistic set was coupled with largely naturalistic performances from the actors. In Volanakis' production Glenda Jackson played Solange, Susannah York played Claire and Vivien Merchant played Madame. In his review, Hobson argued that the performance gave 'the impression that the play is essentially about two maids who hate and attempt to murder their mistress'¹⁶² and Billington described it as 'a cool, temperate story of two maids and their mistress conducted with all the blazing

¹⁶⁰ Press cutting, Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶¹ Sonnabend was born in what was then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to German-Russian parents. She studied painting and stage design in the UK at the Slade between 1955 and 1960

¹⁶² Harold Hobson, 'Missing Mysteries', *Sunday Telegraph*, 24 February 1974. Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

passion of afternoon tea in the Pump Rooms at Bath'.¹⁶³ Barber suggested the Volanakis had given the play 'the drawing-room treatment',¹⁶⁴ which Hobson put partly down to Volanakis' translation, in which 'genteelisms like 'toilet' are given us instead of Genet's outspokenness'. Jackson recalled that 'there was still that kind of English sense of servant-master, servant-mistress, it was a bit Home Counties I think and of course Genet isn't home counties at all'.¹⁶⁵ In their reviews, the critics for the *Sunday Telegraph*, *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Guardian* all invoked the García production as the definitive production of Genet's play. By contrast, this production was positioned as 'a pointless revival'¹⁶⁶ by Billington and condemned for misunderstanding Genet 'left, right and centre'¹⁶⁷ by Hobson. Despite this adverse critical reception, the three-week run sold out, which Wardle put down to the 'famous'¹⁶⁸ cast. In their production history of *The Maids*, Bradby and Finburgh argue that Volanakis' production is viewed as 'one of the most significant UK productions'¹⁶⁹ and suggest that this is because its legacy remains in cinematic form. Christopher Miles adapted it to screen with the same cast in 1975.

To conclude, I would suggest that this case study production reveals the role played by the WTS in opening up British theatre to new interpretative possibilities for lesser-known plays. García's imaginative departure from naturalism redefined

¹⁶³ Michael Billington, 'The Maids', *Guardian*, 20 February 1974. Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁴ John Barber, 'Brilliant but bland portrayal of 'Maids'', *Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1974. Production File for *The Maids*, Greenwich Theatre, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁵ Glenda Jackson, Interview with Author, 18 January 2017

¹⁶⁶ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁷ Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁸ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁹ Bradby and Finburgh, p. 112

Genet for UK audiences and I have traced some of the patterns made by interactions between *The Maids* and subsequent revivals of Genet plays on the British stage. I argue that García's practice as a director shaped Hands' directorial practice, as well as Sonnabend's design language, and consolidated the shift of authority away from the playwright and the text and towards to the director and the conceptual and scenographic environment of the production.

Yerma

This section foregrounds the impact of the Núria Espert Company's production of *Yerma*, which came to the WTS in 1972 and 1973. I begin by providing a brief overview of significant productions of Lorca plays on the British stage before the WTS in order to contextualise my discussion of García's staging. This production has been addressed by several noteworthy scholarly studies.¹⁷⁰ My work aims to complement these existing studies, by offering extended analysis of the production's impact on performance culture in the UK. I argue that this production carved out a performance idiom for Lorca in the UK, inspiring revivals, and establishing García and Espert's reputations as authoritative interpreters of his work. The production consolidated García's reputation in the UK as a leading exponent of director's theatre and Espert as one of Europe's most formidable and skilful actors, resulting in long-term relationships between Espert, García, and leading UK venues and practitioners, the ripples of which are still being felt at the time of writing.

¹⁷⁰ Delgado 2008; Delgado 2003; Gwynne Edwards, 'Yerma on Stage', *ALEC*, 24.3 (1999), 433-51; Malcún 2011

Yerma is set in a rural community where female identity is defined by motherhood and tells the story of a woman called Yerma, whose name signifies barren. Trapped in a childless marriage to Juan, Yerma becomes progressively isolated from the other women in the community and increasingly desperate for a child. Her sense of honour compels her to resist the virile presence of a shepherd called Víctor and she stays faithful to her husband, until his admission that he never wanted children causes her to strangle him to death in the final moments of the play. Prior to the WTS there had only been one staging of *Yerma* in the UK, which opened at the Arts Theatre Club on 31 July 1957. It was directed by Clifford Williams with settings by Paul Mayo and the title role was played by the Brazilian actor, Madalena Nicol, in her UK stage debut.¹⁷¹ Critical reception of the production was overwhelmingly invested in assessing the play for its value as a piece of dramatic poetry. Kenneth Young described a scene where the washerwomen remark on Yerma's fate as "Lysistrata"-like¹⁷² and Richard Findlater concluded that 'Yerma should not be missed by any connoisseur of the poetic drama'.¹⁷³ Their attempts to assess Lorca's standing as a dramatic poet were often frustrated by what they perceived as the shortcomings of the translation by James Graham-Luján and Richard L. O'Connell.¹⁷⁴ The *Sunday Times* argued, 'the company is handicapped by a translation, which whenever it has created any sense of dark and ominous allusion, destroys it by

¹⁷¹ Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷² Kenneth Young, 'Yerma at the Arts', *Daily Telegraph*, 01 August 1957. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷³ Richard Findlater, 'Poet and peasant', *Observer*, 04 August 1957. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁴ Published in the 1940s

some unfeeling colloquialism'¹⁷⁵ and *The Times* suggested that the translation was missing 'the playful element, tender and rapt but light-hearted'.¹⁷⁶ Delgado observes that Graham-Luján and O'Connell's translations of Lorca plays have been 'judged as impediments to the dramatist's potential for influencing the English-speaking stage'¹⁷⁷ and indeed critical reception of this production belies early manifestations of a preoccupation with the apparent incompatibility of British and Spanish performance cultures. In the *Evening Standard*, Shulman reflected that 'this production conscientiously tries to evoke Lorca's brooding, poetic mood, but the acting and the translation prove too onerous an Anglo-Saxon obstacle'.¹⁷⁸ Shulman suggested that, when performed by English actors, 'the hot passion is frozen into prim Kensington vowel sounds; the lyric verse is heightened into lush rhetoric; the symbolism acquires an unbelievable artificiality'.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, Findlater suggested that Williams 'bids bravely for the un-English essence of this play', but that this is thwarted by 'the Home Counties style'.¹⁸⁰ Nicol's performance in the title role was not subject to these criticisms of over-"Englishness", but was criticised for 'the vocal monotony' of a 'broken-Englished Yerma',¹⁸¹ also deemed an impediment to accessing Lorca's poetry.

¹⁷⁵ Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁶ Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁷ Delgado 2008, p. 6

¹⁷⁸ Milton Shulman, 'Spanish passion is stifled', *Evening Standard*, 01 August 1957. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Arts Theatre, 1957, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Findlater, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

The largely naturalistic set and costume design indicate the visual referents employed in the UK to create an identifiable image of rural Spain. The costumes were supplied by Morris Angel¹⁸² who dressed Yerma in black with a shawl [See Figure 6]. Few of the reviews go into detail about Mayo's design, but the production programme indicates that the scenery was painted and the production photographs reveal wooden slatted fences, which may have been used for their flexible ability to suggest both indoor and outdoor environments. The photographs also reveal the addition of wooden sculptures suggestive of crops, standing as tall as the actors, to which Young may have been referring when he described how the "'thistles in a dry field" imagery' of the play was 'subtly reflected in Paul Mayo's sets'¹⁸³ [See Figure 6]. *The Times* praised the 'bold simplicity' of Mayo's designs and argued that the performance owed much 'to his staging of the night scenes'. Similarly, Shulman attributed the production's partial success in evoking 'Lorca's brooding, poetic mode'¹⁸⁴ to Mayo's staging.

Three years previously, Peter Hall had directed *Blood Wedding* at the Arts Theatre Club, which opened on 3 March 1954. It represented Hall's first production for the Arts Theatre, an early gesture of his commitment to theatrical internationalism which would reach its climax in his collaboration with Daubeney on the WTS. This production was also based on a Graham-Luján and O'Connell translation, which Hall described as 'an appalling mixture of windy poetics and American slang', which he

¹⁸² Now known as Angel Costumes, costume supplier

¹⁸³ Young, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁴ Shulman, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

‘surreptitiously rewrote’¹⁸⁵ for rehearsals. In the press, *The Times* critic observed that ‘something of the lyric quality of this play has been obviously lost in translation’¹⁸⁶ and the *Manchester Guardian* reflected that ‘the binding rhythm, the pressure of the words are not there’, reducing the play to what he describes as a ‘stark, portentous melodrama’.¹⁸⁷ However, Hall’s stylized approach to direction and design was praised for capturing the symbolic character of Lorca’s writing. *The Times* critic identified a scene ‘of difficult symbolism’, which depicted the evil spirit of the forest thirsting for the blood of the young men. The critic went on to argue that ‘Mr. Hall manages remarkably well to fill the symbolic scene with a curious sense of mandrakish horror’. In the *Sunday Times*, Hobson also remarked on this scene ‘of woods writhing and tormented, with strange noises weeping through them’ and praised Hall’s ability to suggest ‘the play’s heat and fire, its disturbance in the blood, its consciousness of the fecundity of the earth’.¹⁸⁸ In his autobiography, Hall describes how he created a ‘living forest’ for this scene, recalling that ‘the entire cast held freshly cut tree branches which they swayed gently in a mass of backlight’.¹⁸⁹ Despite the partial stylization of Hall’s approach, the production photographs demonstrate that the production also held recourse to folkloric clichés of rural Spain. Much like the costumes for *Yerma*, designer Judy

¹⁸⁵ Peter Hall, *The Autobiography of Peter Hall: Making an Exhibition of Myself* (London: Oberon Books Ltd, 2000), p. 105

¹⁸⁶ Press cutting, Production File for *Blood Wedding*, Arts Theatre, 1954, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁷ Philip Hope-Wallace, ‘Lorca’s Inner Music Lost in Transit?’, *Manchester Guardian*, 05 March 1954. Press cutting, Production File for *Blood Wedding*, Arts Theatre, 1954, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁸ Harold Hobson, ‘Blood Wedding’, *Sunday Times*, 07 March 1954. Press cutting, Production File for *Blood Wedding*, Arts Theatre, 1954, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁹ Hall, p. 105

Birdwood dressed the women in shawls and black mantillas [See Figure 7]. The programme locates the play specifically in Andalusia and indicates the incorporation of music arranged from 'traditional Andalusian material'¹⁹⁰ by Churton Fairman, which was performed on the guitar and the bandurria.¹⁹¹ The wedding scene, described in the *Observer* as 'folk-dancers delight',¹⁹² contained flamenco dance [see Figure 7], which was directly influenced by Daubeny's work importing Spanish dance. The male figure dancing on the left is actor Trader Faulkner, who saw Rosario and Antonio dance at the Cambridge Theatre in 1951 and identified this as the moment which inspired him to learn flamenco.¹⁹³ Faulkner went on to be a significant advocate for Lorca and Spanish performance culture in the UK, translating Ramón del Valle-Inclán's *Divinas palabras* (*Divine Words*) for the Núria Espert Company's production at the NT in 1977 and developing a one-man show, *Lorca*, to mark the 50th anniversary of Lorca's death, which was performed concurrently with Núria Espert's production *The House of Bernarda Alba* at the Lyric Hammersmith in 1986. These productions will receive full attention below, but I mention them here in relation to Daubeny and Faulkner to indicate the way in which their respective careers reflect both the shift in cultural understandings of Spain as embedded in contemporary Western European theatrical currents and the enduring allure of the image of Spain as mythical 'Other'.

¹⁹⁰ Production programme, Production File for *Blood Wedding*, Arts Theatre, 1954, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹¹ A Spanish stringed musical instrument of the lute family

¹⁹² Press cutting, Production File for *Blood Wedding*, Arts Theatre, 1954, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹³ Trader Faulkner, Interview with Author, 18 March 2015



Figure 6: Madalena Nicol (Yerma) and Marigold Sharman (peasant woman), *Yerma*, 1957. Photograph by Angus McBean.



Figure 7: *Blood Wedding*, 1954. Photograph by Houston Rogers.

This brief overview of two significant stagings of Lorca plays on the post-War British stage reveals that the combination of clumsy translation and folkloric representations in performance positioned Lorca and Spanish culture in the UK as ‘Other’, and initiated a discourse which perpetuated the idea that Spanish and British performance cultures were irreconcilable. This conviction presented an obstacle to major revivals of Lorca plays,¹⁹⁴ which explains the fifteen-year hiatus between Williams’ production of *Yerma* in 1957 and the Núria Espert Company’s production at the WTS in 1972. In the following section, I provide a production analysis of Espert and García’s interpretation, demonstrating how it stripped the stage of mimetic referents and folkloric clichés and reconceived Lorca’s poetry within modern conceptions of directing and scenography.

As with *The Maids*, the company’s staging of *Yerma* broke with conventional naturalist approaches to mise en scène and characterisation and instead established a striking scenographic environment that brought visual poetic unity to the stage. The production was directed by García with Espert as assistant director, and designed by García in collaboration with Fabià Puigserver. García’s non-mimetic concept for the design revolved around a single central element: an 120m² piece of olive-grey polypropylene canvas, cut into an irregular pentagon, which sat at a height of 18 metres within a metal frame and could be manipulated into different shapes and configurations through a system of pulleys.¹⁹⁵ This idea was realised with the help of engineer Miguel Montes. The canvas transformed the conventional

¹⁹⁴ *Yerma* was not revived; *Blood Wedding* was produced at the Nottingham Playhouse in 1956

¹⁹⁵ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 140

stage into a dynamic, undulating surface, which García described as ‘el desierto total’¹⁹⁶ [total desert]. The minimalism of the set reflected the ‘barren’ in the title, thereby serving as a constant visual reminder of Yerma’s childlessness. In the production programme, Kustow described how the set ‘literally breathes like a womb’, an image which was picked up in reviews by Billington, Hobson, Shulman and Wardle. Espert describes the set functioning as ‘una metáfora *total*: un vientre, un útero, una caverna, una pata de toro, un tambor, una membrana’¹⁹⁷ [a *total* metaphor: a stomach, a uterus, a cave, a bull’s foot, a drum, a membrane]. The movements of the canvas in performance created these suggestive images as well as supporting scene changes in the play. In his review, Wardle described how the canvas ‘heaves and sinks as the actors walk and roll across it, rises into hillocks and tents with the aid of hooks from above’.¹⁹⁸ Puigserver has detailed the eight specific movements of the canvas in performance which correspond to eight changes of scene.¹⁹⁹ This demonstrates how the canvas was manipulated to represent earth and water; desert and mountain; marital bed; female body, and barren womb. The significant visual impact of this design is manifest in the analogies to Fine Art made in several reviews. For one scene, in which Yerma prays at a fertility shrine, the canvas was pulled up to form ‘a vertical wall’, which the actors clung to ‘delivering their invocations to fertility amid flailing naked limbs’²⁰⁰ [See Figure 8]. Wardle

¹⁹⁶ García cited in Malcún, p. 149

¹⁹⁷ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 141

¹⁹⁸ Irving Wardle, ‘Yerma takes you by the throat’, *The Times*, 18 April 72. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹⁹ Guillem-Jordi Graells and Antoni Bueso, *Fabià Puigserver* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 1996), p. 170

²⁰⁰ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

described this image as ‘the animated fresco’ and Marcus likened it to ‘souls of the damned in Bosch’s paintings’.²⁰¹ Theatre director Andrew Visnevski recalled this scene, describing how ‘the fantasy of the women was there, the hopelessness of the men’ and describing it as ‘an extraordinary, great, great stage metaphor’.²⁰² The visual potency of this production is reflected in the number of practitioners who recall it in great detail nearly forty years later. Scenographer Pamela Howard affirmed that ‘every move of that production is imprinted in my memory’²⁰³ and Billington recalled the production’s ‘really resonant images’.²⁰⁴ Similarly, casting director Joyce Nettles indicated that she had ‘very strong memories of the *Yerma*, which was hugely impressive’²⁰⁵ and director Terry Hands recalled that he was ‘awe-struck by the imagination’.²⁰⁶ The set’s significance as a piece of modern scenographic design was consolidated by the artist Joan Miro’s view that it ought to be preserved in a contemporary art museum.²⁰⁷

The trampoline-like surface necessitated non-naturalistic performances from the actors. As in *The Maids*, the bodies of the sixteen actors in *Yerma* functioned as a scenic element within the scenographic whole. Malcún recognises ‘esta combinatorio de actors deshumanizados y máquinas en movimiento’²⁰⁸ [this combination of dehumanised actors and machines in motion] as a fundamental

²⁰¹ Frank Marcus, ‘Woman’s World?’, *Sunday Telegraph*, 23 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰² Andrew Visnevski, Interview with Author, 18 February 2015

²⁰³ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

²⁰⁴ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 April 2014

²⁰⁵ Joyce Nettles, Interview with Author, 19 February 2015

²⁰⁶ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

²⁰⁷ Cited in Delgado 2003, p. 151

²⁰⁸ Malcún, p. 82

organising principle in García's work. Reflecting on the relationship between set and actors, Puigserver defines the canvas as 'un elemento vivo' [a living element] which displayed 'un comportamiento dramático'²⁰⁹ [dramatic behaviour] and defined its interaction with the actors as 'una lucha por el dominio'²¹⁰ [a fight for dominance]. In conversations with Espert, Delgado has attended to the substantial work on balance and fitness undertaken by the actors to sustain nightly performances on the unstable set.²¹¹ Espert recalled how Garcia conceived that the rhythm of actor movement would be dictated by the canvas, 'la lona os dirigirá... Ella marcará los movimientos'²¹² [the canvas will direct... It will mark the movements], an element picked up by Marcus in his review, where he observed that the set 'dictates the rhythm of the play'.²¹³ Shulman reflected that 'every gesture has a rhythmic dreamy character'²¹⁴ and Barker described how 'the characters appear to be wading in mud up to their knees'.²¹⁵ In an interview in *Primer Acto*, García described his aim to create the impression that the actors were walking 'un poquito fuera de la tierra, un poquito como en la luna'²¹⁶ [just above the earth, like they are on the moon]. This was supported by the lighting, designed by Polo Villaseñor, and by the costumes, designed by García and Puigserver. Espert

²⁰⁹ Graells and Bueso, p. 170

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Maria M. Delgado, 'Interviewing, Documenting and Interpreting: Methodologies for Analysing Creative Practice', AHGBI Annual Conference, University of Exeter, 13 April 2015

²¹² Espert and Ordóñez, p. 141

²¹³ Marcus, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁴ Milton Shulman, 'Rhythmic dreams in the dark', *Evening Standard*, 18 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁵ Felix Barker, 'Yerma: World Theatre Season, Aldwych', *Evening News*, 18 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹⁶ García cited in Malcún, p. 149

recalled how there was ‘una gran unión entra la lona y el vestuario’ [a great union between the canvas and the costumes], which was created through a similarity in colour and fabric. She described a particular image where ‘las Lavenderas parecían surgir de aquellas montañas de Víctor como parte de la lona’²¹⁷ [the washerwomen seemed to emerge from Víctor’s mountains as part of the canvas] and the only part of their bodies that was visible against the set and costume were there faces.



Figure 8: *Yerma*, 1971. Photograph by Albert Fortuny

In addition to the unusual quality of movement exacted by the canvas, the actors also employed heightened gesture and voice. Espert remembered how the

²¹⁷ Núria Espert, Interview with Maria M. Delgado, 2015

washerwomen were transformed ‘en un grupo de animales que marcaba también su temperamento y su actuación’ [into a group of animals that also marked their temperament and their performance] and that García gave the characters ‘nombres de animales: ésta es el sapo, ésta es el pájaro’²¹⁸ [names of animals: this is the toad, this is the bird]. This non-naturalistic approach to character was also reflected in the use of voice. Wardle described a scene where the chorus of washerwomen ‘swap their bawdy proverbs interspersed with harshly haunting choruses and grapefruit-size castanets’²¹⁹ and Malcún also described the actors delivering their lines by singing, shouting or simply reciting, and recalls the accompanying use of percussive sound.²²⁰ In her performance as Yerma, Espert employed heightened gestural vocabulary, creating a performance described by Wardle as one of ‘intense eroticism’.²²¹ Wardle identified particular moments where Espert as Yerma ‘caresses her useless breasts, where she prostrates herself in admiration before a mother, and takes and cradles the woman’s leg’, gestures which vividly combined the character’s sexual and maternal longing. This combination was also evident in two moments of ‘quietness’, which Hobson picked out as being particularly ‘stunning’: in the first, Yerma ‘lies on her back with her head towards the audience, and lifts up her legs as her black dress falls down to her waist’. Hobson described how she remained in the position for ‘an unconscionably long time’ and that she was ‘brilliantly lit’. The second is a scene that Hobson described as one of ‘absolute

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁰ Malcún, p. 149

²²¹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

grief', where Yerma 'exposes her blinded breasts as she laments her barrenness'.²²²

This latter image of Espert as Yerma was used on the posters in Spain to delineate the radical nature of the production and was also reproduced in the *Sunday Times* on 2 April, the day before the beginning of the 1972 WTS, to advertise the full programme.²²³ When the production returned one year later for the WTS's tenth anniversary, Espert's performance was already being quoted in the souvenir programme as 'one of the most truthful and complete expressions of erotic yearning in the theatre today' and Espert was described as 'a vessel for obscure feelings we all share, however remote we are from the codes of the Granadan society'.²²⁴ In his review of the 1973 return visit, Wardle described Espert's performance as expressing 'the nature of thirst, the nature of longing'.²²⁵ Where the plight of Yerma had seemed remote to audiences in 1957, Espert's performance was seen to tap into essential human experience. In his book *The Modern Actor*, Billington draws on Espert's performance as 'one of the most intensely erotic performances'²²⁶ he has ever seen, framing it within a wider exploration of radical, modern performance. This demonstrates how Espert's performance and the WTS contributed to conversations around performance language, which will be fully explored in the following section about the production's legacy.

²²² Harold Hobson, 'Spanish Bravura', *Sunday Times*, 23 April 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²³ Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁴ Souvenir programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁵ Irving Wardle, 'Yerma', *The Times*, 03 April 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *Yerma*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁶ Michael Billington, *The Modern Actor* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973), p. 217

In the Núria Espert Company production of *Yerma*, all the stage material, including set, light, costume, bodies and voice, functioned in a non-mimetic, non-naturalist way, creating striking visual metaphors which resonated with the themes and imagery of Lorca's text, as well as transcending them to create their own powerful poetic logic. García's scenographic concept and Espert's performance as Yerma presented Lorca's text within radical and experimental performance practice, which, as I will go on to demonstrate in the following section, expanded understandings of Lorca's work; inspired revivals; and consolidated García's reputation as a prominent exponent of director's theatre and Espert's reputation as a leading authority on the staging of Lorca in the UK.

The Legacy of *Yerma* on the British stage

In the following section, I argue that the Núria Espert Company's *Yerma* enhanced levels of interest in Lorca's work in the UK. I will trace the production's influence in the immediate revival of *The House of Bernarda Alba* (*La casa de Bernarda Alba*) at the Greenwich Theatre in 1973 and in subsequent invitations for Espert to return to the British stage with Lorca's plays and poetry, including *Songs and Poetry from Spain* at the Riverside Studios in 1979; *Doña Rosita la soltera* (*Doña Rosita the Spinster*) at the EIF in 1983; and *Yerma* at the EIF in 1986, as well as an English-language production of *The House of Bernarda Alba* at the Lyric Hammersmith later that year.

The most immediate indication of the production's influence on British repertoires was the Greenwich Theatre's production of *The House of Bernarda Alba* in 1973, a

play which had never previously received a significant London production.²²⁷ The director of the Greenwich Theatre, Ewan Hooper, drew an overt link to the WTS, by programming *The House of Bernarda Alba* to run at the same time as the Núria Espert Company's return visit with *Yerma* in 1973 and printing an issue of the theatre's programme magazine *Cue* to coincide with the opening of the WTS. The magazine's editorial drew parallels between the WTS and the theatre's own programming strategies, suggesting 'it might be said that the Greenwich Theatre itself is in the middle of its own mini-international season, with plays from Russia, Norway, the USA and Spain'.²²⁸ It also included two articles about the WTS and directly associated its production of *Bernarda Alba* with Espert's *Yerma* by drawing attention to the parallel dates of the run.

The House of Bernarda Alba presents a household in mourning, where the widowed Bernarda Alba lives with her five daughters, her elderly, senile mother and a housekeeper. Bernarda controls her daughters' movements and deliberately excludes male visitors to the house, causing a build-up of sexual tension which ultimately overflows with tragic consequences. The Greenwich Theatre production was directed by Robin Phillips and presented a new English adaptation of Lorca's play by Tom Stoppard, which I would suggest indicates that the Núria Espert Company production inspired British practitioners to seek a novel way of transposing Lorca's text into English. Billington argued that Stoppard's 'direct and

²²⁷ *The House of Bernarda Alba* had previously been staged at the Chepstow Theatre in 1949, at Central School in 1962 and at the Chancery Theatre in 1972

²²⁸ Production programme, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

unflowery' adaptation was central to the creation of a production that 'lays the text before us with admirable clarity' and suggested that it had overcome the traditional notion that Lorca 'doesn't go in English'.²²⁹ Wardle too suggested that Stoppard 'certainly achieved a more speakable and pithier translation than the previously inescapable American text'.²³⁰ On the other hand, the *Observer* described it as 'crisp, colloquial, but overly jocular'²³¹ and Barber attested that 'there are some unwanted laughs'.²³² Stoppard reflected on the challenges of translating Lorca in an interview for *Plays and Players*, suggesting that 'to adapt Lorca you need to be a poet, a playwright and fluent in Spanish – and I'm only one of those things!'.²³³ For Stoppard the principal challenges were the lyrical quality of the speeches, the imagery, and the inflection and phrasing. He detailed that he made use of the Graham-Luján and O'Connell translation as a source, supplementing it with a literal translation from Katie Kendall, a student reading Spanish and Drama at the University of Bristol, who also supplied Stoppard with her notes and ideas.²³⁴

Daphne Dare's set for this production revealed patterns of García's influence through its minimalism and its modernism. Dare's conception contained no

²²⁹ Michael Billington, 'Lorca's Alba', *Guardian*, 23 March 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁰ Irving Wardle, 'The House of Bernarda Alba', *The Times*, 23 March 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³¹ Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department

²³² John Barber, 'Rare Modern Classic: A Study in Hysteria', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 March 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³³ Michael Leech, 'The Translators: Tom Stoppard: The House of Bernarda Alba', *Plays and Players*, April 1973, pp. 37-38 (p. 38)

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

reference to folkloric images of rural Spain and was instead resolutely minimalist and modern in its approach to colour and material. It located the play within three white-tiled walls and a white floor. The back wall was bisected by a central arch 'whose heavy doors open onto a sunlit patio'.²³⁵ The only other scenic elements were a desk and several straight-backed chairs drawn up in stiff lines. Wardle argued that the set instantly established 'a sense of a cold sanctuary in a baking landscape, it projects the life of Bernarda and her cloistered brood before anyone has spoken a word'.²³⁶ He also drew attention to the modern feel of the production in his image that 'we might be in a convent furnished by Habitat'. On the other hand, Billington argued that the 'air-conditioned coolness' of the white diminishes 'the feeling of oppressive sexual longing among the girls'²³⁷ and the critic for the *Observer* similarly argued that it diminished the correspondence between 'the Andalusian climate and the steaming passions of Bernarda's repressed daughters'.²³⁸ This shortcoming is also identified in the actors' performances. The *Observer* called for 'a little less sinew and a lot less breeding and reserve', suggesting that 'it is easy to conclude that English actors lack the fierceness and passion for Lorca, but I am unwilling to believe it'. Billington invoked the authority of Espert's performance by concluding that, 'what the production needs now is a touch of the eroticism Núria Espert brought to *Yerma*'.²³⁹ Although the performances fall short of the standard set by Espert, this production clearly broke

²³⁵ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁸ Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Greenwich Theatre, 1973, V&A Department

²³⁹ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

with previous productions of Lorca on the British stage both in terms of text and design and demonstrated a sustained engagement with the WTS at the Greenwich Theatre, where the aforementioned 1974 revival of *The Maids* also took place.

I will now trace Espert's return visits with Lorca's plays and poetry, demonstrating the WTS's long-term influence on international programming in the UK. The first of these was in November 1979, when director David Gothard invited Espert and the poet Rafael Alberti – a close friend of Lorca's - to perform poetry and songs in Spanish. Called *Songs and Poetry from Spain*, the programme included, 'works by García Lorca, who provided the inspiration for these selections, as well as Pablo Neruda, Lope de Vega, Jorge Manrique, Alberti himself and a collection of medieval songs, sung by Núria Espert'.²⁴⁰ The programme mentions all three of Espert's WTS appearances, as well as her appearance in *Divine Words* at the National Theatre in 1977. Gothard saw both *The Maids* and *Yerma* at the WTS²⁴¹ and, under his leadership, the Riverside Studios hosted a huge variety of international dance and theatre companies. He recalled seeing earlier WTS productions and reflected that,

Somebody does something wonderful like Peter Daubeny and by a fluke there is a late teenager there who doesn't know what they're going to do with their life and somehow their thinking gets formed and affected by it and that's how it gets passed on.²⁴²

Gothard clearly positioned his youthful encounters with WTS productions as formative experiences and eventually applied the principle of internationalism to his own professional life. In his role at Riverside, Gothard recalled, 'I expressed my

²⁴⁰ Production File for *Songs and Poetry from Spain*, Riverside Studios, 1979, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴¹ David Gothard, Interview with Author, 04 April 2016

²⁴² Ibid.

debt to the WTS by inviting her [Molly Daubeny] to all the first night parties and she in turn used to invite me to her dinners'.²⁴³ This demonstrates Molly Daubeny's continued investment post-WTS in maintaining relationships and developing international theatre networks.

In 1983, Espert's company made its first appearance at the EIF with a production of Lorca's *Doña Rosita la soltera*.²⁴⁴ Directed by Jorge Lavelli²⁴⁵ and featuring Espert in the title role of Doña Rosita, the production opened at the Royal Lyceum Theatre in Edinburgh on 30 August 1983 and ran for 6 performances. In the production programme, Billington wrote an entry on Espert which recalled her WTS appearances in *The Maids* and *Yerma*. He stated, 'with the help of Víctor García, she broke away from the tradition of academic naturalism surrounding Lorca's plays', reinforcing her authority and calling her 'a genuine theatrical trailblazer'.²⁴⁶ Before the opening of the festival, a feature in the *Sunday Times* framed the Núria Espert Company's visit with reference to *Yerma* and described Espert as 'one of the world's finest tragic actresses', arguing that 'on her past form alone, *Doña Rosita* should be an astonishing experience'.²⁴⁷ Many of the reviews, too, framed their analysis with references to the WTS. Barber, for example, evoked Espert's

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ For a detailed production analysis, see Delgado 2003, pp. 156-59

²⁴⁵ Jorge Lavelli, Argentinian theatre and opera director based in France since the mid-1960s. Lavelli was a friend of García's and they had come to Paris together to the Théâtre des Nations

²⁴⁶ Production programme, Production File for *Doña Rosita la soltera*, Edinburgh Festival, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴⁷ Sandy Craig, 'Lorca's Elegy to Youth', *Sunday Times*, 21 August 1983. Press cutting, Production File for *Doña Rosita la soltera*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

performance in *Yerma* in his opening sentence.²⁴⁸ I would suggest that the allusions to the WTS in the critical response demonstrate that the Espert's EIF appearance built on her reputation as a leading interpreter of Lorca and as Spain's leading actress. This production is also an example of WTS influence on EIF programming, which was to be overtly acknowledged by the Festival Director, Frank Dunlop,²⁴⁹ in 1986.

1986 was a significant year for Spain on the world stage, as it joined the European Economic Community (EEC) on 1 January. It also marked the fiftieth anniversary of Lorca's death, which proved an appropriate hook for international cultural projects. For the 1986 EIF, Dunlop invited Espert to return and present a double bill to mark the Lorca anniversary. Espert's most significant contribution in terms of WTS legacy was the remounting of the original production of *Yerma*,²⁵⁰ which she presented alongside a José Luis Gómez Company production of *Bodas de sangre* (*Blood Wedding*).²⁵¹ The remounting functioned as an act of memorialisation, which reinforced the production's position as key reference point in the staging of Lorca plays in the UK. It remains so at the time of writing, most recently inspiring a new staging at the Young Vic Theatre in 2016 (further revived in 2017),²⁵² directed and adapted by the Australian director and playwright, Simon Stone. David Lan, then Artistic Director of the Young Vic, confirmed, 'I saw the García/Espert in the early

²⁴⁸ John Barber, 'Exquisite Rosita', *Daily Telegraph*, 01 September 1983. Press cutting, Production File for *Doña Rosita la soltera*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴⁹ Dunlop was Festival Director between 1984 and 1991

²⁵⁰ Royal Lyceum Theatre, 18-20 August

²⁵¹ Royal Lyceum Theatre, 22-24 August

²⁵² The production had a second run from 26 July to 31 August 2017

70s and have loved the play ever since. One of the reasons I suggested it to Simon'.²⁵³ Stone's adaptation transplanted the action from rural Spain to present-day London and cast Yerma as a lifestyle journalist and blogger. This shift was widely praised in critical reception. Susannah Clapp observed that Stone stripped the stage of 'washerwomen, shepherds, poetic effusions' and argued that he 'remade Lorca for the English stage'.²⁵⁴ Sarah Crompton for *Whatsonstage* also contended that the production 'blows the dust off Federico García Lorca's 1934 original and turns it into a challenging play for today'.²⁵⁵ Lizzie Clachan's design visually supported the transition to modern day. It consisted of a glass box, in which the actors performed with audience arranged on two sides. Inside the box, the set changes revealed a living room, a garden, a mud-clogged festival site. Clapp described the set variously as 'a glass case to display a jewelled life, a fragile bubble, a membrane, or a shrine', capturing the fundamental instability at the heart of Yerma's obsession. Most interestingly, critic Matt Wolf described the effect of the box as 'presenting the characters as if they existed in some way *in vitro*',²⁵⁶ an image which invokes the modern-day fertility treatment IVF. Like García's womb-canvas, Clachan's glass box functioned as a constant reminder of Yerma's failed fertility treatments and her empty womb. Much of the power of the production

²⁵³ David Lan, Email to Maria M. Delgado, 20 September 2016

²⁵⁴ Susannah Clapp, 'Yerma Five-Star Review – Billie Piper is Earth-quaking as Lorca's Heroine', *Guardian*, 07 August 2016
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/aug/07/yerma-review-young-vic-billie-piper-simon-stone> [accessed 14 October 2017]

²⁵⁵ Sarah Crompton, 'Review: Yerma (Young Vic)', *Whatsonstage*, 04 August 2016
http://www.whatsonstage.com/london-theatre/reviews/yerma-young-vic-billie-piper_41439.html [accessed 14 October 2017]

²⁵⁶ Matt Wolf, 'Yerma, Young Vic', *theartsdesk.com*, 06 August 2016
<http://www.theartsdesk.com/theatre/yerma-young-vic> [accessed 14 October 2017]

was located by critics in Billie Piper's performance in the title role, which was variously described as 'earth-quaking',²⁵⁷ 'mighty'²⁵⁸ and 'devastating'.²⁵⁹ Although the performances were naturalistic, the production was punctuated by sudden mid-sentence blackouts and an uneasy soundscape between scenes, which was accompanied by captions, briefly summarising the forthcoming action. In its bold reimagining of Lorca's play for contemporary audiences and its striking scenography, I would argue that Stone's production carried forward the radical spirit of the production that served as its initial inspiration.

The remounting of *Yerma* at the 1986 EIF functioned as an act of memorialisation for García and Daubeney, both of whom had since died.²⁶⁰ It was framed in the programme as 'a Víctor García production',²⁶¹ representing a re-enactment of García's directorial style. Dunlop had been influenced by García's directorial approach in *The Maids*, which he saw at the WTS in 1971 and this remounting served both as a tribute to his enduring influence on Dunlop as a director as well as to the continued impact of the WTS on programming and performance practice in the UK. The remounting also served as a tribute to the WTS's contribution to

²⁵⁷ Clapp 2016

²⁵⁸ Tim Bano, 'Yerma Review at the Young Vic – 'A Mighty Performance From Billie Piper'', *The Stage*, 05 August 2016 <https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2016/yerma-review-at-the-young-vic/> [accessed 14 October 2017]

²⁵⁹ Crompton 2016 and Henry Hitchings, 'Yerma, Theatre Review: Billie Piper is Devastatingly Good in this Radical Reimagining of Lorca's Poetic Tragedy', *Evening Standard*, 05 August 2016 <https://www.standard.co.uk/goingsout/theatre/yerma-theatre-review-billie-piper-is-devastatingly-good-in-this-radical-reimagining-of-lorcas-poetic-a3312561.html> [accessed 14 October 2017]

²⁶⁰ Daubeney died in 1975 and García died in 1982

²⁶¹ Programme, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

theatre programming internationally. Espert recognises the 1972 WTS appearance as instrumental in securing many international dates.²⁶² The international theatre agent, Ninon Tallon Karlweiss, saw the production in London and subsequently organised their 1972 tour of the US, France, Egypt, Italy, Germany, Poland and Slovenia, where they made an appearance at BITEF and won the prize for Best Scenography.²⁶³ In 1974 they toured Latin America and celebrated *Yerma*'s 2000th performance in Argentina.²⁶⁴ Dunlop was recognizing the significance of the production, as well as the platform that launched its international success.

Dunlop structured the entire theatre strand of the 1986 EIF programming as a tribute to Daubeny's WTS, renaming it a 'World Theatre Season', and organising return visits from the Cracow Stary Theatre²⁶⁵ and the Royal Drama Theatre of Stockholm,²⁶⁶ two other companies which Daubeny introduced to the British stage during the WTS. In the programme introduction, Dunlop wrote, 'the United Nations Year of Peace is a fitting year for the Festival to aspire to create the first World Theatre Season since the death of Sir Peter Daubeny in 1975'.²⁶⁷ Dunlop's association between international theatre and peace recalls the humanist discourse that surrounded the WTS. This was reinforced by Wardle in his programme notes for *Yerma*, in which he argued that the production was,

a glorious affirmation of Peter Daubeny's belief that theatre at its best transcends national boundaries: not only telling a story that foreign

²⁶² Espert and Ordóñez, p. 127

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 149

²⁶⁴ Of all García's productions, *Yerma* was the only one to be seen on stage in his homeland

²⁶⁵ *Crime and Punishment*, St. Bride's Centre, Haymarket, 9-16 August

²⁶⁶ *Miss Julie*, King's Theatre, 28-30 August

²⁶⁷ Programme, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

spectators can understand, but drawing them towards the very heart of the originating culture.²⁶⁸

I would suggest that the 1986 EIF programme and discourse demonstrates the enduring influence of the WTS on international theatre programming, as well as on the ideologies and motivations that underpinned it.

Espert's final contribution to UK programming around the Lorca anniversary was her directorial debut with an English-language production of *The House of Bernarda Alba*, which opened at the Lyric Hammersmith in London on 8 September 1986. The invitation to direct the play came from Peter James, Artistic Director at the Lyric, and brought together a cross-European team, including Italian set designer Ezio Frigerio and Italian costume designer Franca Squarciapino. Espert directed a cast of British actresses, including Glenda Jackson as Bernarda Alba, Joan Plowright as Poncia, and Patricia Hayes as Bernarda's elderly mother. I would suggest that her decision to stage her directorial debut in the UK was a testament to the relationship built up between Espert and British institutions, practitioners, and audiences since the WTS. As Delgado has observed, Espert initially declined James' invitation, but was eventually persuaded by her friends, playwright Arnold Wesker and Peter Brook, as well as by the enthusiastic reception that her work at the WTS had received in the UK.²⁶⁹ The occasion proved to be of diplomatic significance too, reflected in the presence of the Queen of Spain on opening night, alongside Lorca's sister. Jackson remembered the production feeling momentous, suggesting that it

²⁶⁸ Irving Wardle, 'Yerma', *Edinburgh International Festival '86*, Edinburgh Festival, 1986, V&A Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁹ Delgado 2003, p. 172

was part of a 'release'²⁷⁰ in Anglo-Spanish relations post-Franco. *The House of Bernarda Alba* ran until 25 October 1986, transferring to the West End's Globe Theatre (now the Gielgud) in January of the following year.

This production occupies a particularly significant position in the history of Lorca productions on the British stage, as it represented a coming together of Spain's leading performer of Lorca's theatre, with a leading British translator and respected British actresses. The translation by Robert David Macdonald²⁷¹ was praised by Michael Coveney as being 'suppler and more appropriate'²⁷² than the Stoppard translation for the 1973 production at the Greenwich Theatre and by Billington for proving 'that Lorca is translatable (at least by Robert David Macdonald)'.²⁷³ Espert recalls that she and the actors worked with Macdonald in rehearsals to refine and finalise the translation²⁷⁴ and Jackson recollected that 'you could almost taste the words, they had gristle and muscle and grit in them'.²⁷⁵ Where the translation reimagined Lorca linguistically for British audiences, I would argue that Espert as director found a performance idiom for Lorca on the British stage, drawing on her experience as an actress to inform and shape the performances. Jackson's reflections on the rehearsal process demonstrate Espert resisting cultural clichés in

²⁷⁰ Glenda Jackson, Interview with Author, 18 January 2017

²⁷¹ Robert David Macdonald (1929-2004) was a Scottish playwright, translator and theatre director

²⁷² Michael Coveney, 'The House of Bernarda Alba/Lyric, Hammersmith', *Financial Times*, 09 September 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Lyric Hammersmith, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷³ Michael Billington, 'Women in Chains', *Guardian*, 10 September 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Lyric Hammersmith, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁴ Espert and Ordóñez, p. 263

²⁷⁵ Glenda Jackson, Interview with Author, 18 January 2017

her interpretations of Lorca's work. Jackson recalled that, 'we weren't allowed to indulge ourselves into thinking that Spain was all castanets and flowers in the hair'.²⁷⁶ Billington wrote, 'the production has proved that British actresses can play Spanish tragedy'. His praise for Jackson's performance recalled the cat imagery used to describe Espert's performance in *The Maids*. Drawing out its animalistic character, he observed she 'rules over her brood like a female leopard (she even brandishes a claw at a recalcitrant daughter)'²⁷⁷ and Ratcliffe described her 'unsleeping cat's face'.²⁷⁸ Ratcliffe argued that the production 'knocks another liberating nail into the coffin of the received idea that British actors have nothing to gain by working with directors from abroad' and suggested the Plowright gave 'her best performance for years'.²⁷⁹ Patricia Hayes in the role of Bernarda's octogenarian mother represented perhaps the most radical performance in the production. In the climatic moment of the play, Espert recalls that she wanted to create an image reminiscent of Goya's witch,²⁸⁰ and directed Hayes to appear naked. Billington described her appearing 'stark-naked' in what he argued is a 'highly courageous performance as the mad, locked-in grandmother symbolising the fate awaiting Bernarda's daughters'.²⁸¹ Ratcliffe described this moment as 'breath-taking'²⁸² and Coveney described her appearance as 'weirdly unsettling',

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁸ Michael Ratcliffe, 'Adela and her sisters', *Observer*, 14 September 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Lyric Hammersmith, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Tom Sutcliffe, 'Bitter tears of Lorca's Spain', *Guardian*, 09 September 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *The House of Bernarda Alba*, Lyric Hammersmith, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸¹ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸² Ratcliffe, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

suggestive of 'Miss Haversham of the *vega*'.²⁸³ I would suggest that the radical presentation of the body in Hayes performance was reminiscent of images in Espert's past productions, such as the nude fresco and the image of her fondling her naked breasts in *Yerma*, and the climactic image in *Divine Words*, which receives attention below. It is notable that Espert's nudity as a younger actress was described as 'erotic', whereas Hayes nudity as an older actress is described as 'unsettling'. The gendered way in which these performances were discussed in critical discourse is, I would argue, reflective of the predominance of male voices in broadsheet criticism. In both cases, I would suggest it is indicative of the critics negotiating their own discomfort with a radical presentation of the female form.

In an interview with the *Guardian* at the beginning of the run, Espert reflected that she came up against some resistance to her directorial approach from the younger actors. Espert observed that they needed 'to approach their problems in such a reasonable way... it is not possible to approach Lorca like that'.²⁸⁴ I would suggest this reflects the productive challenge issued by international collaborations of this kind, that bring practitioners from different traditions together. Actor Tim Pigott-Smith saw *Yerma* at the WTS and reflected that he found it 'educational as an actor' to see WTS productions because it helped understand 'what really makes those plays tick'.²⁸⁵ The influence of the collaboration on *The House of Bernarda Alba* found recent expression in Jackson's return to the stage after 25 years in the male role of King Lear at the Old Vic in 2016. Jackson recognised Espert as her inspiration

²⁸³ Coveney, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁴ Sutcliffe, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁵ Tim Pigott-Smith, Interview with Author, 26 March 2015

to return to the stage, explaining that she saw Espert play Lear at the Teatre Lluire in Barcelona in 2015 and Espert suggested that Jackson do the same in the UK.²⁸⁶ Delgado has analysed the similarities across both their performances,²⁸⁷ attesting to the enduring artistic relationship and personal friendship between the two actors.

Espert's *The House of Bernarda Alba* helped establish Lorca in UK theatre repertoires. Billington argued that the production 'opened up the possibility of Lorca on the British stage'²⁸⁸ and Coveney concluded that 'Espert's *Bernarda Alba* brings a great twentieth-century dramatist within our accessible common heritage and ken'.²⁸⁹ Its significance was also affirmed in the award season, when it won the Evening Standard Award for Best Director and the Observer Award for Outstanding Achievement. Delgado has traced the number of Lorca productions that opened across the UK after Espert's *The House of Bernarda Alba*,²⁹⁰ including a production of *Yerma* at the National Theatre directed by Di Trevis in 1987. The designer for this production, Pamela Howard, cited seeing *Yerma* at the WTS as 'the seed'²⁹¹ for the NT revival. By 1993, David Johnston claimed,

Lorca has become the most performed foreign-language playwright on the English-speaking stage. Just as Brecht was a seminal force in English theatre during the sixties and seventies, so Lorca has become the most influential foreign playwright of the late eighties and early nineties.²⁹²

²⁸⁶ <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/glenda-jackson-playing-king-lear-age-80/> [accessed 16 January 2017]

²⁸⁷ <https://rcssdtheatrematters.wordpress.com/2016/11/12/king-lears/> [accessed 02 November 2017]

²⁸⁸ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁹ Coveney, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁹⁰ Delgado 2003, p. 173

²⁹¹ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

²⁹² David Johnston, 'Las terribles aduanas: The Fortunes of Spanish Theatre in English', *Donaire* 1 (1993), 18-24 (p. 21)

I would suggest that Espert was a key figure in expanding cultural understandings of Lorca in the UK, playing a pivotal role in the celebrations of Lorca's anniversary, and consequently making a significant contribution to the development of Anglo-Spanish cultural relations in the year that Spain officially joined the EEC. The agency and authority invested in Espert by British critics and practitioners is particularly significant, given the relatively small number of powerful female figures in the predominantly male space of the theatre industry during this period. Howard suggested that Espert was a significant figure for her in this regard. She valued the fact that Espert was a powerful woman on the European theatre circuit and recalled that, 'it is about being in control of your creativity and that's what Núria Espert said when I first met her'.²⁹³ Performing in *The House of Bernarda Alba* was a similarly empowering experience for Glenda Jackson, who suggested 'it was just great, first of all, to have all those extremely talented women working together'.²⁹⁴ As a powerful woman theatre practitioner, Espert has proved a source of inspiration for women practitioners in the UK.

Beyond Lorca

After the WTS, García and Espert both returned to the British stage with work by other Spanish playwrights, demonstrating their significant role in developing interest in Spanish theatre and culture in the UK. In this final section, I address García's production of *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, which came to London's Roundhouse from 18 December 1974 to 4 January

²⁹³ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

²⁹⁴ Glenda Jackson, Interview with Author, 18 January 2017

1975, and *Divine Words* (*Divinas palabras*), Espert and García's final collaboration, which came the National Theatre's Lyttleton stage from 13 to 25 June 1977. I argue that both productions reveal a persistent investment in García's practice as a director and demonstrate his continued contribution to conversations around director's theatre in the UK.

In *Autosacramentales*, García reconceived the writings of Calderón de la Barca as highly allegorical, ritualised spectacle. Calderón was a seventeenth-century Spanish dramatist known for honour tragedies and *autos sacramentales*, one-act allegories illustrating the mysteries of the Eucharist. In García's production, sections of these were performed in Portuguese by members of Ruth Escobar's Brazilian company. Described by Billington as an 'all-nude ritual',²⁹⁵ the actors performed without costume, props or sound, on a bare stage described by Wardle as 'a wide crescent like the rim of the earth, elliptically enfolded in a white surround that backs the stage like a Cinerama screen'.²⁹⁶ Those critics, such as Billington and Shorter, who had a text-centric approach to their reviews, found their efforts to access Calderón's plays frustrated. Billington described himself in the dark with the programme and a pocket torch trying to 'sort out Sin from Death, the Soul from the Body, or Cain from Abel' and ultimately concluded that 'unless one know what is happening from moment to moment, ritualised spectacle in the theatre eventually

²⁹⁵ Michael Billington, 'Calderon', *Guardian*, 27 December 1974. Press cutting, Production File for *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, Roundhouse, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁹⁶ Irving Wardle, 'Hymn to Sensuality', *The Times*, 24 December 1974. Press cutting, Production File for *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, Roundhouse, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

becomes a meaningless charade'.²⁹⁷ Shorter praised the actors for 'their discipline, passion, sincerity and force', but concluded that he left the theatre wanting to know 'the point of performing in the nude in Portuguese a series of Biblical charades against a blank panoramic screen without so much as a sub-title'.²⁹⁸ Wardle, on the other hand, saw an opportunity to see 'what the poor, forked animal can do unsupported by any of the crutches that normally allow him to go upright'.²⁹⁹ He observed that the text is declaimed 'monotonously' but that 'the sound and movement scenarios are anything but monotonous', describing how the only sounds were those made by the company's 'voices and bodies'. Wardle once again invoked the authority of Brook in relation to García, arguing that '*Autosacramentales* takes you no further towards Calderón than Peter Brook did by translating *Life is a Dream* into the invented language Orghast'. Here Wardle was drawing a comparison with Brook's 1971 production of *Orghast*, that was presented at the Festival of Arts in Shiraz and contained an enactment of Calderon's play, *Life is a Dream*. Performed in a language with no recognisable words, the critics for the *New York Times* concluded that the spectator had to 'listen to the work as they would listen to music, and to watch the action as if it were a religious experience'.³⁰⁰ Wardle approached *Autosacramentales* in a similar spirit, ultimately concluding that 'it is worth seeing as a tribute to the expressive

²⁹⁷ Michael Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁹⁸ Eric Shorter, 'Dancing naked from Creation to Fall', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 December 1974. Press cutting, Production File for *Autosacramentales: The Divine Vision of Calderón de la Barca*, Roundhouse, 1974, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁹⁹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁰⁰ Margaret Croyden, 'Peter Brook Learns to Speak Orghast', *New York Times*, 03 October 1971 <http://www.nytimes.com/1971/10/03/archives/peter-brook-learns-to-speak-orghast-peter-brook-learns-to-speak.html> [accessed 03 November 2017]

powers of the human body; and for a sense of joyous vitality that transcends its Christian framework'.³⁰¹ The stark divergence in critical opinion demonstrates that García's sustained challenge to the authority of the text in Western dramaturgical tradition offered alternative modes of conceptualising the relationship between text and performance.

In his search for alternative performance languages, García found a regular collaborator in the UK-based lighting designer David Hersey. Hersey designed the lighting for *Autosacramentales*, a project which represented their third collaboration. Their first encounter was in 1971 on *The Architect* at the NT, an experience that Hersey characterised as 'a complete watershed, it was when I learned to see'.³⁰² Hersey described García's brief as, 'go away, rediscover light on the stage and when you've done that come back'.³⁰³ Describing his working processes during this period, Hersey reflected, 'I thought of light as a metaphor... I began to see structure in light, architectural elements in light, how you can shape and effect the stage'.³⁰⁴ Following *The Architect*, Hersey worked with García on a 1971 production of *Les Bonnes* (*The Maids*) at the Espace Pierre Cardin in Paris and, finally, on *Autosacramentales*. These collaborations proved formative experiences for Hersey, who subsequently developed a career at some of the most important cultural institutions in the UK, including the NT, the RSC, the English National Opera and the Royal Ballet. He won the Tony Award for Best Lighting Design for *Evita*

³⁰¹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁰² David Hersey, Interview with Author, 12 March 2015

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

(1980), *Cats* (1983), and *Les Misérables* (1987); the Drama Desk Award for Outstanding Lighting Design for *Cats* (1983), *Miss Saigon* (1991) and *Equus* (2009); and the 1996 Laurence Olivier Award for Lighting Design. Hersey also co-founded DHA Designs, an influential lighting design consultancy. Speaking about the company's processes of product development, Hersey said, 'even that in a funny way goes back to *The Architect* because of Víctor's insistence on rediscovering light on stage... I feel like I have a big debt to Víctor'.³⁰⁵ I would suggest that García's influence on Hersey has resulted in expanded lighting vocabularies on the British stage and increased understandings of the intrinsic role played by lighting in the meaning-making of theatrical productions.

García and Espert's production of *Divinas palabras* (*Divine Words*) at the NT represented the first UK production of a play by Valle-Inclán. This visit was organised by Molly Daubeny in her role as consultant to the NT on theatre companies from abroad, representing both the significant work done by Molly Daubeny to carry forward the WTS legacy and Hall's continued commitment to international work in his role as NT Artistic Director. García's concept for the production's scenographic environment recalled the trampoline-canvas for *Yerma* in that it consisted of a single, striking image, which encapsulated key themes and could be manipulated to suggest the various settings of the play. García designed the production in collaboration with Enrique Alarcón, who had previously worked with the company on *The Maids*. Wardle detailed how the set comprised 'eight mobile groups of organ pipes, fitted with vast projecting trumpets', which could be

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

manipulated so that 'detached they become outsize phalluses, grouped into a circle they form the bars of a prison, swinging outward they become cannons trained on the audience'.³⁰⁶ In the final scene, De Jongh described how, 'from the vast dark void, with the Lyttleton's space and depth used better than ever before, the set of pipes move forward the shape of a church's organ'.³⁰⁷ The final image of the production, described by Wardle as a 'concluding fresco', which he further defined as 'one of García's trademarks', saw the organ 'parting in the middle to disclose a nude Espert stationed at the summit of a towering black spar'.³⁰⁸ The provocative nature of this last scene had been anticipated in the press because *The Times* refused to print a nude photograph of Espert in this final scene, which instead appeared in *The Guardian*.³⁰⁹ This demonstrates the company's commitment to stage practice that pushed both aesthetic boundaries and those of taste and acceptability.

Much of the critical reception revealed a tenacious investment in the production as a means of serving and communicating the play text. Barber opened his review with the categorical statement that, 'in the serious theatre, words and the speakers of words reign supreme. They dominate spectacle, acrobatics and scenic effects

³⁰⁶ Irving Wardle, 'Experiment in an alien classic', *The Times*, 15 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁰⁷ Nicholas De Jongh, 'Divinas Palabras', *Guardian*, 15 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁰⁸ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁰⁹ Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Theatre and Performance Department

because they speak to the mind and not merely the eye'.³¹⁰ Although he briefly discussed 'the brilliance of the effects contrived by Víctor García' and suggested that the characters, 'seething with energy', are 'undeniably fascinating to watch', he concluded that 'the whole sense and purpose of the play are sold down the river'. Similarly, Coveney described it as 'a sagging, empty spectacle'.³¹¹ Wardle suggested that the production was 'as helpful as Charles Marowitz's *Hamlet* collage would be to an audience of eskimos',³¹² aligning García with an experimental director working in English and acknowledging that his unfamiliarity with the original play had an impact on his analysis. Similarly, Marcus acknowledged that García's methods were 'effective when presenting plays that are more familiar to English audiences'.³¹³ De Jongh, however, argued that the production was 'packed with grotesque Goya-like characters and interflowing scenes' and described the final fresco as 'one of his physical stage shocks which is breath-taking, a glorious intellectual and dramatic concentration of the play's hidden message'.³¹⁴ Once again, the divergence in critical opinion demonstrates García's ongoing reputation

³¹⁰ John Barber, 'Primitive Romp from Play about Words', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹¹ Michael Coveney, 'Divinas palabras', *Financial Times*, 15 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹² Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹³ Frank Marcus, 'The Twilight of Some Gods', *Sunday Telegraph*, 19 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹⁴ Nicholas De Jongh, 'Divinas palabras', *Guardian*, 15 June 1977. Press cutting, Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

as a director promoting a conceptual stage language and providing bold readings of marginal works.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the WTS significantly expanded understandings of Spanish theatre and culture in the UK at a time when Spain (as a military dictatorship) was politically, economically and culturally marginalised. The Núria Espert Company's three consecutive visits represented unprecedented and sustained UK engagement with Spanish contemporary theatre and built relationships between Espert and British institutions and practitioners which would go on to shape the character of post-Franco Anglo-Spanish cultural relations.

The legacy of the Núria Espert Company's productions of *The Maids* and *Yerma* demonstrates the significant role played by the WTS in shaping British repertoires and practices. I have demonstrated how the productions reimaged Genet and Lorca within avant-garde performance practice, inspiring UK revivals and influencing models of direction, design and acting on British stages. I have argued that this consolidated the shift of authority from playwright and text to director and designer, influencing the practice of directors and programmers, such as Frank Dunlop, Terry Hands, Ewan Hooper and David Lan; designers such as Daphne Dare, David Hersey and Yolanda Sonnabend; and actresses such as Glenda Jackson, Estelle Kohler and Helen Mirren.

Chapter Three: The World Theatre Season and Eastern European Theatre: Josef Svoboda and Andrzej Wajda

Where the previous chapter sought to outline the WTS's contribution to fuller understandings of Spanish theatre and culture in the UK during the later years of Franco's dictatorship and to trace the legacy of this engagement on British stages, this chapter considers the WTS's substantial engagement with work from Eastern Europe at a time when political, cultural and economic relations were compromised by the Cold War. My focus here is on the work of two significant practitioners, whose work was recognised as a reference point for stage innovation across Europe: Czech scenographer Josef Svoboda, and Polish director Andrzej Wajda. The first section considers Svoboda's contribution to emerging models of scenography on the British stage. Svoboda's far-reaching influence on scenography has been well-documented.¹ My study contributes to these accounts by highlighting the overlooked role played by the WTS, which served as the initial platform for Svoboda's work in London when the Czech National Theatre (CNT) came with *The Insect Play* in 1966. By providing a detailed analysis of this production and its subsequent influence on the British stage, this chapter positions the WTS as a springboard for Svoboda's impact on scenographic practices in the UK.

¹ Helena Albertová, *Josef Svoboda: Scenographer* (Prague: Intitut umění, 2008); Arnold Aronson, *Looking into the Abyss: Essays on Scenography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Jarka Burian, *Leading Creators of Twentieth-Century Czech Theatre* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002) and *The Scenography of Josef Svoboda* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1971); Christopher Baugh, *Theatre, Performance and Technology: The Development of Scenography in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth, *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

The second section addresses the impact of Wajda's stage work in the UK and the ways in which it has been analysed in the English-speaking world. Wajda's significance as a film director has been the subject of several English-language scholarly studies.² His stage career, however, has generally been overlooked in English-language surveys of his work and English-language scholarship about Polish theatre in this period is largely dominated by analysis of the work of his Polish contemporaries Tadeusz Kantor and Jerzy Grotowski.³ The only monograph readily available in English on Wajda's work as a theatre director was written by Maciej Karpiński in 1980 and translated into English by Christina Paul in 1989.⁴ Yet, Wajda had a significant parallel career in the theatre, which was afforded significant international attention through Daubeny's invitations to present productions at the WTS. This chapter addresses two Cracow Stary Theatre productions directed by

² Janina Falkowska, *Andrzej Wajda: History, Politics, and Nostalgia in Polish Cinema* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008) and *The Political Films of Andrzej Wajda: Dialogism in Man of Marble, Man of Iron, and Danton* (Providence, NJ; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996); John Orr and Elzbieta Ostrowska, eds, *The Cinema of Andrzej Wajda: The Art of Irony and Defiance* (London: Wallflower, 2003)

³ Kantor and Grotowski are the subject of many monographs, both originally written in English or existing in English translation. Recent examples include Catharine Christof, *Rethinking Religion in the Theatre of Grotowski* (London: Routledge, 2017); Zbigniew Cynkutis, *Acting with Grotowski: Theatre as a Field for Experiencing Life*, ed. by Paul Allain and Khalid Tyabji (London; New York: Routledge, 2015); Katarzyna Fazan, Anna Róza Burzyńska, Marta Bryś, eds, *Tadeusz Kantor Today: Metamorphoses of Death, Memory and Presence* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2014); Michal Kobialka, *Further On, Nothing: Tadeusz Kantor's Theatre* (Minneapolis, MN; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Dominika Laster, *Grotowski's Bridge Made of Memory: Embodied Memory, Witnessing and Transmission in the Grotowski Work* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2016); Virginie Magnat, *Grotowski, Women, and Contemporary Performance: Meetings with Remarkable Women* (London: Routledge, 2013); Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius and Natalia Zarzecka, eds, *Kantor was Here: Tadeusz Kantor in Great Britain* (London: Black Dog, 2011); Magda Romanska, *The Post-Traumatic Theatre of Grotowski and Kantor: History and Holocaust in Akropolis and The Dead Class* (London: Anthem Press, 2012); Noel Witts, *Tadeusz Kantor* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010)

⁴ Maciej Karpiński, *The Theatre of Andrzej Wajda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Wajda: *The Possessed* in 1972 and 1973, and *November Night* in 1975. Through detailed analysis of the reception and influence of these two productions, this chapter outlines Wajda's contribution to performance practice in the UK and foregrounds how understandings of his stage work intersected with knowledge of his films, contributing to British understandings of Polish culture, history and politics during the Cold War.

Josef Svoboda

This section foregrounds the pivotal role played by the WTS in providing a significant initial platform in London for Svoboda's work. First, I will map previous instances of engagement with Czech theatre and culture in the UK and with Svoboda's work as a scenographer, demonstrating how the WTS developed and responded to pre-established Anglo-Czech relations and a growing interest in Svoboda's work. I then provide a production analysis of the CNT production of *The Insect Play* and trace its material impact on British scenography, particularly on the career of designer Ralph Koltai. I also demonstrate how *The Insect Play* functioned as a springboard for Svoboda's subsequent work on UK stages, resulting in formative and long-term collaborations between Svoboda and British directors and designers. Ultimately, this section addresses how the WTS gave weight to emerging models of stage design, which were being pioneered in the UK by designers such as Koltai, as well as by John Bury, Jocelyn Herbert, David Hersey, Sean Kenny, Timothy O'Brien and Richard Pilbrow.

The WTS programme offered a sustained engagement with Czech theatre, presenting four companies, of which the CNT was the first.⁵ All of these companies had their British stage debut at the WTS, although the opera company embedded in the CNT had appeared at the EIF in 1964.⁶ Prague was among the best represented capital cities in the WTS programme, demonstrating the significant role played by the WTS in building theatrical bridges between Czech and UK stages, as well as the strength of Czech theatrical culture, which Burian identifies as particularly dynamic in the 1960s.⁷ Many of the avant-garde Czech companies that were presented at the WTS were formed during this period, including the Theatre on the Balustrade in 1958, and the Činoherní Drama Club and the Theatre Behind the Gate, both in 1965.

The WTS was, however, building on a rich tradition of Anglo-Czech cultural relations. Josef Polišenský, the most well-known Czech historian in the Anglophone world,⁸ provides a useful source of information about Anglo-Czech relations in *Britain and Czechoslovakia: A Study in Contacts*. Published in a second edition in 1968, Polišenský traces links between Czechoslovakia and the UK from the Middle Ages to 1965. In a chapter addressing the period from 1918 to 1965, Polišenský compiles information about Czech literature in English translation,⁹ Czech musical

⁵ The others were the Theatre on the Balustrade in 1967 and 1968; the Theatre Behind the Gate in 1969; and the Činoherní Drama Club in 1970

⁶ The CNT was a repertory complex that consisted of three ensembles: drama, opera and ballet

⁷ Jarka M. Burian, *Modern Czech Theatre: Reflector and Conscience of a Nation* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), p. 91

⁸ R. J. W. Evans, 'A Czech Historian in Troubled Times: J. V. Polišenský', *Past & Present*, 176 (2002), pp. 257-74 (p. 273)

⁹ J. V. Polišenský, *Britain and Czechoslovakia: A Study in Contacts* (Prague: Orbis, 1968), pp. 79-81

ensemble tours of the UK,¹⁰ a 1965 exhibition of historical Bohemian glass at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,¹¹ a Czech week hosted by the National Film Theatre (NFT) in 1965,¹² and the cultural exchange that took place around the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth in 1964. Describing the latter as 'one of the high points in cultural relations',¹³ Polišenský details conferences where Czechoslovak specialists discussed Shakespeare's plays and their contemporary function with Peter Brook and Jan Kott, and covers the RSC's visit to the Czech National Theatre in February 1964 with a production of *King Lear* with Paul Scofield in the title role.¹⁴ Molly Daubeny subsequently invited Paul Scofield and his wife to the opening night of *The Insect Play* at the WTS,¹⁵ which demonstrates the WTS's commitment to maintaining and developing existing Anglo-Czech relations. Other examples of exchange in the theatre industry included a tour to Czechoslovakia by Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop with *Johnny Noble* in 1948 and with *Macbeth* in 1957,¹⁶ and Czechoslovakia's involvement in the International Conference on Theatre History, hosted by the Society of Theatre Research (STR) at the British

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 82

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 80. Czech weeks also took place in 1968, 1974 and 1977 and new films by directors such as Miloš Forman, Juraj Jakubisko and Jan Němec were regularly presented at the London Film Festival: *Peter and Pavla*, dir. Miloš Forman, 1964 London Film Festival; *A Blonde in Love*, dir. Miloš Forman, 1965 London Film Festival; *Martyrs of Love*, dir. Jan Němec, 1967 London Film Festival; *The Fireman's Ball*, dir. Miloš Forman, 1968 London Film Festival; *The Deserter and the Nomads*, dir. Juro Jakubisko, 1969 London Film Festival

¹³ Ibid., p. 81

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 82

¹⁵ Letter from Molly Daubeny to Jaromír Sedlák, undated. Box 10, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁶ Robert Leach, *Theatre Workshop, Joan Littlewood and the Making of Modern British Theatre* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006), p. 192; Nadine Holdsworth, *Joan Littlewood's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 11

Academy from 17 to 23 July 1955.¹⁷ This was a high-profile event that led to the establishment of the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR).

Summaries of delegate papers were reported in *The Times*¹⁸ and patrons of the conference included Peggy Ashcroft, Peter Brook, Alec Clunes, Edith Evans, Christopher Fry, Tyrone Guthrie, Laurence Olivier, Anthony Quayle, Michael Redgrave and Ralph Richardson.

There had been several UK productions of *The Insect Play*, by Karel and Josef Čapek, before the CNT's visit in 1966. Originally published in 1921, the play appeared in English two years later¹⁹ and had its English-language premiere at the Regent Theatre in 1923. This ran simultaneously alongside the premiere of another Čapek play, *R.U.R.*, at the St. Martin's Theatre,²⁰ reflecting the popularity of the Čapek brothers and the visibility of Czech culture in the UK in the 1920s. The premiere of *The Insect Play* was followed by many productions across the country during the interwar period.²¹ Post-War, the play was revived at Birmingham Rep in 1946 and was also produced by the BBC alongside *R.U.R* for their Saturday Night Theatre and

¹⁷ Programme for the International Conference on Theatre History 1955, Society for Theatre Research Archive, THM/472, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸ Press cuttings, Society for Theatre Research Archive, THM/472, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹ Polišenský, p. 71

²⁰ *R. U. R* was adapted by Nigel Playfair and produced by Basil Dean. Production File for *R.U.R*, St. Martin's Theatre, 1923, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²¹ Festival Theatre, Cambridge (May 1927); Arts Theatre, Cambridge (February 1931); Tavistock Little Theatre (June 1935); Little Theatre (June 1936); Croydon Repertory Theatre (November 1936); Prince's Theatre, Manchester (November 1936); Sheffield Repertory Theatre (November 1937); The Playhouse Theatre (April 1938); Duke of York's Theatre (July 1938); Garrick Theatre, Stockport (February 1939); Gaiety Theatre, Manchester (February 1939)

World Theatre programmes.²² I will briefly consider the 1923 English-language premiere at the Regent Theatre and the 1936 revival at the Little Theatre to ascertain how the play was produced and received on the London stage prior to the CNT production at the WTS.

The Insect Play is an etymological parody of the world of men. Set in a forest, it opens with a traveller who has been displaced by war and is seeking to escape the human world. He becomes the narrator, observing the world of insects. The play's huge cast of insects represents different facets of human nature; there are fickle, promiscuous butterflies and dictator ants, wealth-managing dung beetles and narcissistic mayflies. The production programme for the Regent Theatre production states that the play had been 'freely adapted for the English stage'²³ by Nigel Playfair, who was also the director, and Clifford Bax,²⁴ from a literal translation by Paul Silver. The production also featured music by Frederick Austin and a young John Gielgud in the role of Felix the butterfly. The set and costumes were designed by Doris Zinkeisen. The sets presented a largely human world and the costumes functioned to transform the actors into insects [See Figures 9 and 10]. The programme contains no plot summary or notes, but the critical reception demonstrates that it was generally understood as an expression of post-War pessimism. In the *Sunday Times*, Sydney W. Carrol argued that the production 'omits entirely to give credit to the mind and soul of man' and concluded that 'such

²² Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Birmingham Rep, 1946, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Regent Theatre, 1923, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴ Clifford Bax (1886-1962) was an English playwright, poet and journalist

a work as this can only have resulted from the war'.²⁵ Similarly, the critic for *The Times* described a scene where ants representing soldiers fight for world domination [see Figure 10] and suggested that it represented a 'legacy of the Great War' and was 'the one moment where the satire really stings'.²⁶ The impact of this scene is evident in the *Evening Standard* critic's response, which understood it as 'an expression of loathing for the men who make wars and of contempt for the men who fight them'. The article explicitly suggested that 'before 1914 we might have thought it gloriously true' but that 'war is now among the things we know about, and we do not feel that way about the army which was our own flesh and blood'.²⁷ The play's premiere, then, was interpreted as an overwhelming pessimistic portrait of human nature, inseparable from the context of the First World War, which had ended only five years previously.

Nancy Price's revival of the play at the Little Theatre in 1936, which transferred to the Duke of York's in 1938, explicitly sought to counteract the first interpretation. The production programme for the Duke of York transfer states, 'those who see only a pessimistic outlook in this play are wrong', and presents two hypotheses,

If man is to occupy his time by accumulating dirt, pandering to greed, indulging in cruelty, mechanising life and welcoming war, there is no hope

²⁵ Sydney W. Carrol, 'Stage nightmare at the Regent', *Sunday Times*, 06 May 1923. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Regent Theatre, 1923, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶ Anonymous, 'Etymology and satire', *The Times*, 07 May 1923. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Regent Theatre, 1923, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷ Anonymous, 'Satire that should be done by puppets', *Evening Standard*, 07 May 1923. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Regent Theatre, 1923, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

for him, but if he will learn what to avoid and select, there is hope, and a hope that will make for progress and peace.²⁸

From today's perspective, in the knowledge that World War Two started in 1939, it is easy to suggest Price's decision to revive the play was driven by a sense of foreboding. There is certainly an urgency in her programme notes, where she states that, 'Čapek is clever enough not to tell us what to do, but to awaken in us that urge which makes it impossible for us to sink back into easy complacency'.²⁹ This urgency is reflected in the press discourse around the 1936 run at the Little Theatre. The critic for *The Times* observed that 'there seems now to be a stronger emphasis than in the past upon its protest against war'³⁰ and W. A. Darlington argued that the play's 'satire bites as shrewdly as ever', pinpointing 'the picture of the totalitarian State organised by the ants' as 'extraordinarily topical'.³¹ Although little is written in the press about the design for this production, photographs in the V&A Collections reveal that the costumes were approached in a similar way to the Playfair adaptation, transforming the actors into insects [See Figure 11]. Thus, before 1966, the play had been presented on the British stage as a pessimistic parable on human nature interpreted through the lens of twentieth century history. When the CNT presented its production at the WTS, the play had not been seen in the UK for twenty years, not in London for almost thirty, and had never been seen in the UK staged by a Czech company.

²⁸ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Duke of York's Theatre, 1938, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Anonymous, 'The Insect Play', *The Times*, 24 June 1936. Production File for *The Insect Play*, Little Theatre, 1936, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹ W. A. Darlington, 'Insect Play Revived', *Daily Telegraph*, 24 June 1936. Production File for *The Insect Play*, Little Theatre, 1936, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance



Figure 9: Algernon West (Victor) and Noëlle Sonning (Iris), *The Insect Play*, Regent's Theatre, 1923. Photograph by Stage Photo Company.



Figure 10: Solider ants, *The Insect Play*, Regent's Theatre, 1923. Photograph by Stage Photo Company.



Figure 11: The Butterflies, *The Insect Play*, Little Theatre, 1936. Photograph by Robert Jorgensen.

Svoboda already had a reputation as a leading scenographer before his WTS appearance. As the CNT's chief designer and technical director from 1948, Svoboda worked in a context where his work and experimentation was facilitated by large subsidy and 300 members of support staff.³² Daubeny described Svoboda's workshop at the CNT as 'a veritable conjuror's cave, where a designer could weave spells and create magic with equipment that would turn any English designer green with insatiable jealousy'.³³ He had achieved global recognition as a result of the Czechoslovak pavilion at EXPO 58 in Brussels,³⁴ where he showcased two new technological inventions for the stage: the *Laterna Magika* and the *Polyekran*.

³² Burian 1971, p. xix

³³ Daubeny 1971, p. 270

³⁴ Expo 58, also known as the Brussels World's Fair, was held from 17 April to 19 October 1958 and was the first major World Fair after World War II

Building on experiments with large-scale projections undertaken by Vlastislav Hofman and František Tröster in the 1930s,³⁵ Svoboda created the Polyekran using eight projection surfaces of trapezoids and squares, which were installed on a wall in a dark, intimate space, and synchronised with music.³⁶ The Laterna Magika, developed alongside Czech director Alfréd Radok,³⁷ synchronised projection with live actors, creating theatre that integrated filmed and live performance. The success of the Laterna Magika at the EXPO led to the founding in Prague of a permanent theatre in its name, housed in the Adria Palace and headed by Svoboda as Artistic Director. From 1958 Svoboda was invited to work internationally in Russia, the Netherlands, Croatia, and Italy, and in 1961 he won the gold medal at the São Paulo Third Biennale of Scenic Design, leading to two commissions at the Municipal Theatre in Rio de Janeiro in 1963.³⁸

Alongside World Fairs such as the Brussels EXPO, British theatre technicians kept abreast of the technical innovations emerging from Prague through the Association of British Theatre Technicians (ABTT) and its role in the Commission Internationale de L'Eclairage (CIE), an international network for lighting technicians. Frederick Bentham, Director of the Strand Electric and Engineering Company,³⁹ visited Prague from 15 to 16 April 1965 as ABTT's representative at a CIE committee meeting, delivering a paper on 'electronic dimmers used for lights control in theatres and TV

³⁵ Albertová, p. 54

³⁶ Ibid., p. 9

³⁷ Alfréd Radok (1914-1976) was a Czech Director

³⁸ Josef Svoboda, *The Secret of Theatrical Space* (New York, Tonbridge: Applause Theatre Books, 1993), p. 133

³⁹ Strand Electric was founded in 1914 as a stage lighting company. In 1968, it was bought by Rank Film Corporation and became Rank Strand. It still exists as Strand Lighting, an international theatre and television lighting company

studios'.⁴⁰ Other countries to give papers included the USSR, France, Belgium and Israel. A delegate from East Germany came as an observer and a written report was sent from the US. The programme included several organised visits, including to the CNT to see *Romeo and Juliet*, designed by Svoboda; to the Laterna Magika to see *Tales of Hoffman*; to the Czech Scenographic Institute, and to television and film studios.⁴¹ Bentham wrote an article on the subject of this meeting in *TABS*, Strand Electric's industry magazine, for which he was the editor, reporting that the committee decided on an international glossary for new inventions.⁴² The CIE network, of which both the UK and Czechoslovakia were an active part, facilitated the international dissemination of new technical innovations, as well as the development of new technical languages using symbols which aimed to 'transcend the barriers of language'.⁴³

Svoboda's work was afforded widespread attention in the UK when the CNT presented five operas at the 1964 EIF. Svoboda conceived the scenography for three of the five operas: Bedřich Smetana's *Dalibor*, Leoš Janáček's *Katya Kabanova* and Antonín Dvořák's *Rusalka*.⁴⁴ The visual impact of each production was consistently addressed in critical reviews, which scrutinised Svoboda's use of light

⁴⁰ Letter from Zdenek Holub of Krátký Film Praha to Frederick Bentham, 05 May 1965. Frederick Bentham Archive, THM/46, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴¹ Programme for the C.I.E. committee meeting, 15-16 April 1965. Frederick Bentham Archive, THM/46, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴² Frederick Bentham, 'International Agreement in Prague', *TABS*, 23 (1965), 4-7

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 7

⁴⁴ The five operas were presented at the King's Theatre: Bedřich Smetana's *Dalibor*, Monday 17 August; Ján Cikker's *Resurrection*, Tuesday 18 August; Antonín Dvořák's *Rusalka*, Wednesday 19 August; Leoš Janáček's *Katya Kabanova*, Monday 24 August; Janáček's *The House of the Dead*, Friday 28 August

and mobile 'stone-like blocks' and 'iron grilles'⁴⁵ in *Dalibor*; of light and shadow to evoke the textures of lakes and forests in *Rusalka*;⁴⁶ and of back projection to create the River Volga in *Katya Kabanova*. *The Times* critic went into detail about Svoboda's use of lighting in the latter production, describing the evocation of the river as 'a miracle' and describing his use of back projection to create the impression of 'dense foliage' as 'magical'.⁴⁷ The WTS programme for *The Insect Play* directly drew on the authority of Svoboda's previous impact in Edinburgh, stating,

The opera company distinguished themselves here at the 1964 Edinburgh Festival. The drama company, under their present director, Vitezslav Vejrazka, now pay their first visit to England.⁴⁸

By foregrounding programming links with Edinburgh, the WTS positioned itself as part of a network of institutions in the UK engaging with international work. Here and throughout the thesis, I demonstrate examples of how the WTS was in dialogue with the EIF, the NT and other key institutions across the UK, contributing to a dynamic pattern of influence.

There was considerable critical engagement with Svoboda's work among theatre practitioners and in the national press in the lead up to the 1966 WTS. Tynan was a passionate advocate, writing a letter to Terence Kilmartin⁴⁹ dated 20 July 1964 in which he reported that,

⁴⁵ Special Correspondent, 'Stage hampers opera', *The Times*, 21 August 1964. Press cutting, Production File for *Dalibor*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁶ Press cutting, Production File for *Rusalka*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁷ Press cutting, Production File for *Katya Kabanova*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁸ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁹ Terence Kilmartin (1922-1991) was literary editor of *The Observer*

People as disparate as Peter Brook and Arnold Wesker assure me that the most exciting director in Europe today is the man who runs the National Theatre in Prague. His name is Krejča and he always works with a designer of equal brilliance, Svoboda. *The Times* recently raved about their production of *Romeo and Juliet* and I know Peter Hall has invited his company to the Aldwych for the next World Theatre Season in the spring. No doubt the *Sunday Telegraph* (sponsors the World Theatre lark) will plan to do something on Krejča just before the season opens. It would be nice to pip them by getting in earlier. I could go to Prague for a week and do research.⁵⁰

This letter not only demonstrates that prominent UK directors and playwrights were supporters of Svoboda's work, but also usefully reveals that the WTS functioned as a catalyst for editorial content in the national press and was a source of competition between the national broadsheets. The press regularly reported on new techniques and materials being applied by Svoboda in his work abroad. On 31 December that year, *The Times* published a feature entitled 'New Techniques in Theatre', which analysed Svoboda's set for *Hamlet* at the Belgian National Theatre⁵¹ and reported on the use of 'a new plexiglass material – a sort of unbreakable mirror – invented in Czechoslovakia', detailing that 'fifty-one frames of this material are mounted at an angle at the rear of the setting',⁵² reflecting the action on the forestage. *The Times* correspondent suggests that this material will have an impact on acting techniques and predicts 'the emergence of a new style'.⁵³ This mirrored material was introduced to the British stage by Svoboda in *The Insect Play* and, as I will go on to demonstrate, became widely adopted by other practitioners. In March 1965, the *Sunday Times* published a feature on the Czech director, Otomar Krejča,⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Kenneth Tynan in Katheen Tynan, ed., *Kenneth Tynan: Letters* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1994), p. 300

⁵¹ This production opened on 13 January 1965

⁵² Special Correspondent, 'New Techniques in Theatre', *The Times*, 31 December 1964, p. 4

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Krejča came to the WTS with the *Theatre Behind the Gate* in 1969 (see Appendix)

and his collaboration with Svoboda on *Romeo and Juliet* at the CNT. The article reported Brook's 'ecstatic impression' of the production in which 'the cast ride the complicated hydraulic set as if it were an assault course'.⁵⁵ This feature also discussed Krejča and Svoboda's collaboration on *Hamlet*. In January 1966, *The Times* published an interview with Svoboda on his scenographic approach.

Paraphrasing Svoboda, the article reported that,

scenery is not an end in itself but a logical component of the complementary arts of the stage. The scenic artist collaborates on equal terms with the author and the director. Scenery today must have the same dynamism as the spoken word (or the music) and the actor moving in time and space. It must be flexible, just as the text is flexible. This can be achieved by mobility of setting (revolves, platforms, moving belts etc) or better still, by lighting, or by a blend of the two.⁵⁶

Svoboda was representing an approach to design that was collaborative and positioned the designer as of equal importance to the director. The unity of all the elements of production, achieved through this collaborative working practice, had been picked up on by opera critics at the EIF in 1964. The critic for *The Times* described *Katya Kabanova* as 'a revelation: visually and aurally it is extraordinarily satisfying, because all the ingredients of the opera are blended with such understanding and imagination'.⁵⁷ The dynamism of the scenery was a principle which Svoboda later termed 'psycho-plastic space'.⁵⁸ Burian describes its staging as 'three-dimensional, transformable space that is maximally responsive to the ebb

⁵⁵ Kathleen Halton, 'A man called Krejča', *Sunday Times*, 14 March 1965, p. 25

⁵⁶ Special Correspondent, 'Svoboda on the Role of Scenery in the Theatre', *The Times*, 21 January 1966, p. 15

⁵⁷ Special Correspondent, 'Imaginative production of Janáček Opera', *The Times*, 25 August 1964. Press cutting, Edinburgh Festival, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁸ Cited in Baugh, p. 82

and flow, the psychic pulse of the dramatic action'.⁵⁹ This principle will be discussed in greater detail in my production analysis of *The Insect Play*. The feature also described the working model for *The Insect Play* and reported that the production would be coming to the WTS later that year. The article concluded that Svoboda has 'the eye of the architect' and 'the mind of the visionary'.⁶⁰ Svoboda's work was attracting high-profile press coverage before 1966 and this discourse served to establish him as a leading authority on design before his first London appearance.

The high profile of *The Insect Play* was reflected in the fact that it was programmed as the opening production for the 1966 WTS on 21 March, and was attended by Princess Margaret and her then husband Lord Snowdon. The design element of the production was prominent in WTS discourses. Svoboda was introduced in the programme as having 'won world renown as a specialist in new forms of lighting, stage techniques, and materials'⁶¹ and the programme notes detailed how the design for the production evolved. Director Miroslav Machaček suggested that there were two possible approaches to staging the play,

Either the stage is set to suggest nature and the cast play in street clothes.
Or the stage suggests human environment and the cast dress up as
insects.⁶²

Both Playfair and Price had based their interpretations on the latter. Machaček dismissed this on the basis that 'you can't disguise the fact that the cast are people'. This departure from previous interpretations on the British stage was

⁵⁹ Burian 1971, p. 31

⁶⁰ Special Correspondent, 'Svoboda on the Role of Scenery in the Theatre', *The Times*, 21 January 1966, p. 15

⁶¹ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶² Ibid.

remarked upon Darlington, who suggested in his review that the Czech production ‘makes a most fascinating contrast’⁶³ to the Playfair production. In creating a set ‘to suggest nature’, Machaček stated his deliberate intention to break from naturalism, arguing that ‘the days of real grass and trees on the stage are over’. He described how Svoboda ‘produced a yellowed little book of the last century explaining conjuring tricks’ and that the concept for the set departed from the use of tilted mirrors to ‘make the actors appear to be floating in the air, perching on flowers, or disappearing altogether’.⁶⁴ Svoboda’s set consisted of two large mirrors measuring approximately 7.5 metres square,⁶⁵ which were each made from smaller hexagonal segments [see Figure 12]. In preparation for this production, Svoboda recalls he had ‘to grasp the principle of a honeycomb and the laws of light and reflection’.⁶⁶ Only the floor was lit, as the production gained light via reflection and this also avoided the technical problems involved in lighting the mirrors. Svoboda originally designed this ‘gigantic angled roof of honeycomb’⁶⁷ to sit above a revolve with two concentric circles. However, the Aldwych stage was considerably smaller than the stage at the CNT. Hallifax, then working as London manager of the RSC at the Aldwych Theatre, recalls that only one of the two turntables could be accommodated at the WTS and a new revolve had to be built especially.⁶⁸

⁶³ W. A. Darlington, ‘Czechs’ deft satire in ‘Insect Play’, *Daily Telegraph*, 22 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁴ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁵ Burian 1971, p. 118

⁶⁶ Svoboda, p. 52

⁶⁷ Penelope Gilliat, ‘Visiting Insects’, *Observer*, 27 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁸ Hallifax, p. 299

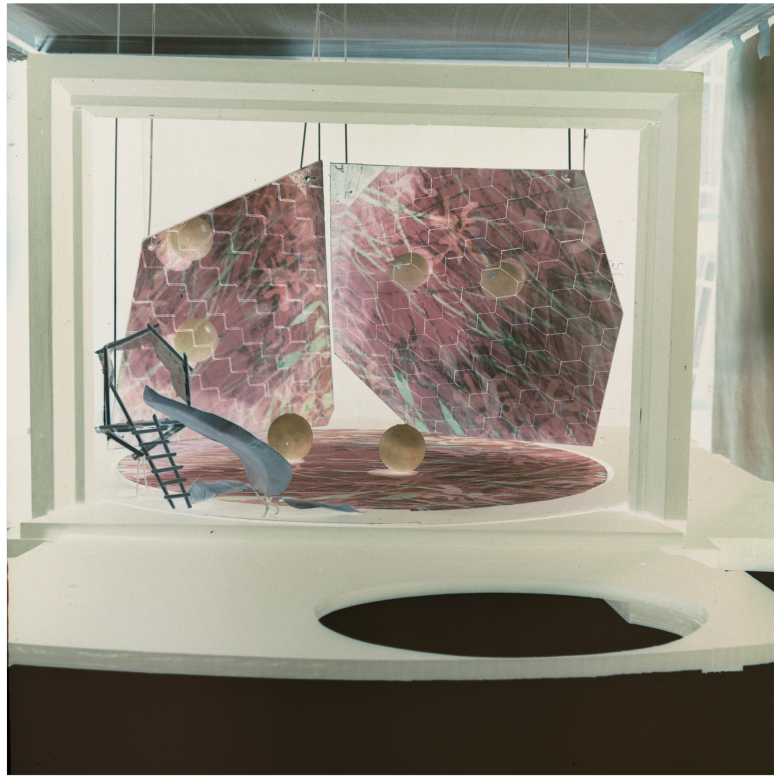


Figure 12: Set model, *The Insect Play*, Czech National Theatre, 1965. Archives of the Art and Theatre Institute, Prague.

Despite the limitations of the Aldwych stage, critics acknowledged the centrality of the set to the meaning of the production and the numerous ways it evoked the play's analogy between insects and humans. The most immediate of these was through the formal allusion to a honeycomb, which Bryden identified as 'the colossally magnified eye of a fly'⁶⁹ and Hope-Wallace as 'like the eye of a fly under a microscope':⁷⁰ an image evoking a giant insect looking down on men. In addition, the hexagonal segments of the mirror had the effect of multiplying the figures on stage into a swarm of insect-humans [see Figure 13]. This effect was intensified by

⁶⁹ Ronald Bryden, 'Fly's Eye View', *New Statesman*, 25 March 1966, p. 429

⁷⁰ Philip Hope-Wallace, 'The Insect Play at the Aldwych', *Guardian*, 22 March 1966, p. 9

the revolving floor, creating the sensation of viewing through a kaleidoscope.⁷¹

Svoboda described how he wanted to communicate,

the sheer multitudinousness of man, the sheer numbers that make one question the difference between insects and people. For instance, the disturbing or depressing feeling you sometimes get at a busy railway terminal or airport.⁷²

This resonated with the critics. Darlington argued that the multiple reflections of the movements of set and actors in the mirrors created the effect 'of a flowerbed humming with insect life',⁷³ and Wardle described how it functioned as 'a device for multiplying a few actors into a teeming hive, and transforming company movement into an intricate geometrical ballet'.⁷⁴



Figure 13: *The Insect Play*, Czech National Theatre, 1965. Archives of the Art and Theatre Institute, Prague.

⁷¹ Peter Lewis, 'Good morning! And a very rummy one it is too...', *Daily Mail*, 22 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance; Philip Hope-Wallace, 'The Insect Play at the Aldwych', *Guardian*, 22 March 1966, p. 9

⁷² Josef Svoboda in Burian 1971, p. 118

⁷³ Darlington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁷⁴ Irving Wardle, 'Black Disenchantment of the Twenties', *The Times*, 22 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

The mirrors also visually supported Machaček's reconception of the play as a musical, with jazz music composed by Zdeněk Liška and dance choreographed by Pavel Šmok [see Figure 14]. Bryden suggested that the mirrors reflected 'some trick of production number from an early Hollywood musical'⁷⁵ and described the butterflies as 'ageing Twenties flappers in floating chiffon cocktail dresses'.⁷⁶ Hobson described the production's 'revuelike gaiety',⁷⁷ invoking music hall and the Palace of Varieties, and Hope-Wallace described the songs as 'varying from proletarian dirge in the Weill manner to pseudo American musical choruses'.⁷⁸ This represented a significant shift in tone from previous interpretations of the play on the British stage. Machaček used the programme to outline his concept for the production, explaining that it was based on 'the idea that part of human wisdom consists in the ability to laugh at one's one foibles'.⁷⁹ This central idea, he suggested, was at the heart of 'how the cast should interpret their roles'. This is reflected in the critical analysis of Ladislav Pešek's interpretation of the tramp, which Hope-Wallace described as 'fascinating and clown-faced'. Some reviewers were critical of this shift in tone. Wardle felt that Machaček had misinterpreted the play, arguing that it is 'a work that enshrines the black disenchantment of the years after the First World War' and that the production is lacking a sense of 'horror'.⁸⁰ This view is also held by Gilliat, who suggested that the play 'belongs irredeemably

⁷⁵ Bryden 1966, p. 429

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Harold Hobson, 'To the best of our beliefs', *Sunday Times*, 27 March 1966. Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁷⁸ Hope-Wallace 1966, p. 9

⁷⁹ Production programme, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁰ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

to the twenties not only in its expressionist form but also in its mood'.⁸¹ On the other hand, Bryden felt that the production expanded his understanding of the play. He wrote that it captured 'a style of production between Brecht, *Back to Methuselah* and Twenties review' and concluded that 'we're just beginning to understand Shaw and Brecht. Maybe the Expressionists' turn will come next'.⁸²

Similarly, Hobson felt that Machaček 'rightly looked at the whole thing with a music hall eye', arguing that 'it is a naïve little allegory not to be taken seriously except by those in earnest need to political instruction'.⁸³



Figure 14: *The Insect Play*, Czech National Theatre, 1965. Photo by Jaromír Svoboda.

⁸¹ Gilliat, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸² Bryden 1966, p. 429

⁸³ Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Ultimately, critical consensus focused on the ingenuity of Svoboda's sets and gave significant analytical weight to the production design in their reviews, which reflects the WTS's role in increasing the profile of design and scenography on the British stage and in its surrounding discourses. Bryden's review was particularly design-led and spoke of Svoboda as an autonomous artist, arguing 'we've clearly no intelligence with the simultaneous command of theatre, ideas and visual design to rival Josef Svoboda'.⁸⁴ In their reviews, Shulman and Kingston anticipated that the production would have an impact on British performance culture. Shulman concluded his review suggesting 'I predict it is a device we will see a great deal of in the near future',⁸⁵ while Kingston concluded, 'if we find Mr. Svoboda's idea used in the home theatre before long, this is just the sort of dissemination of ideas the World Theatre Season is designed to promote'.⁸⁶ These comments reveal contemporary critical understandings of the WTS's profile and the ways in which it had an immediate (as well as a further long term) tangible impact on British performance culture.

The Legacy of the Insect Play

It is a challenge to trace material influence through scenography. The archives held by the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance are organized by production and it is thus far easier to trace influence on repertoires than on 'movements

⁸⁴ Bryden 1966, p. 429

⁸⁵ Milton Shulman, 'All done with mirrors', *Evening Standard*, 22 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁶ Jeremy Kingston, *Punch*, 30 March 1966. Press cutting, Production File for *The Insect Play*, Aldwych Theatre, 1966, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

performed, scenographies designed, sounds produced, work done'.⁸⁷ Through a combination of conversations with colleagues, leads from press cuttings and happy coincidences, I have been able to collate a number of examples of the material influence of Svoboda's design of *The Insect Play* on British performance culture. First, I would suggest that the production influenced Koltai's scenographic practice, both in terms of form and material. Although there is no evidence Koltai saw *The Insect Play*, he certainly attended WTS productions. He was Head of Department of Theatre Design at Central School of Art and Design from 1965 to 1972 and one of his students at the time, designer John Napier, remembers that Koltai would encourage his students 'to experience the work of Svoboda and the World Theatre Season'.⁸⁸ This influence found early expression in Koltai's design for a 1967 NT production of *As You Like It*, directed by Clifford Williams. Koltai created a 'cold Forest of Arden'⁸⁹ from a structure of transparent Perspex tubes⁹⁰ and 'dappled overhead cut outs',⁹¹ which hung above the stage, in a manner reminiscent of the hanging mirrors in *The Insect Play*.⁹² In his review of the production, Bryden reflected, 'Koltai's set is a brilliant pastiche of his master, Svoboda: a wintry futurist

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ John Napier in Sylvia Backemeyer, ed., *Ralph Koltai: Designer for the Stage* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2003), p. 12

⁸⁹ Peter Lewis, 'Taking a dream trip with the Bard', *Daily Mail*, 04 October 1967. Press cutting, Production File for *As You Like It*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹⁰ Milton Shulman, 'Delicious – but I still prefer Vanessa', *Evening Standard*, 04 October 1967. Press cutting, Production File for *As You Like It*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹¹ Irving Wardle, 'Comic result when men take over from actresses', *The Times*, 04 October 1967. Press cutting, Production File for *As You Like It*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹² For a production image see https://ralphkoltai.com/theatre/asyoulikeit_1/ [accessed 20 November 2017]

dreamscape of synthetic materials'.⁹³ Koltai had already started working with abstract forms and materials, such as real wood (*Two Brothers*, Sadler's Wells, 1958); concrete (*The Representative*, Aldwych Theatre, 1963 and *The Jew of Malta*, Aldwych Theatre, 1964); and scaffolding (*Cul de Sac*, Sadler's Wells, 1964). However, this production represented a shift towards synthetic materials.

Koltai also subsequently adopted the use of mirrors and regularly applied them in his scenographic practice. Designer Martin Morley identified Koltai as having 'a fondness for using reflective materials'.⁹⁴ He made use of them in his designs for *The Rake's Progress* at the EIF in 1968, *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* at Sadler's Wells in 1972, *Man and Superman* at the National Theatre in 1981, and *Much Ado about Nothing* at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in 1982. Echoes of Svoboda's design for *The Insect Play* are particularly striking in Koltai's designs for *Duke Bluebeard's Castle* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. *Duke Bluebeard's Castle*, a one-act opera by Hungarian composer Béla Bartók, tells of Judith, a guest at Bluebeard's castle, who insists that all doors be opened to let light into the forbidding interior. Bluebeard initially refuses, but Judith insists, opening the doors one at a time to reveal secret aspects of Bluebeard's life. For the production, Koltai created a 'mirror-like heptagon'.⁹⁵ Each segment of the heptagon represented one of the seven doors into the castle and Koltai used back projection to turn the segments into 'a screen

⁹³ Ronald Bryden, 'The Wrong Kind of Achievement', *Observer*, 08 October 1967. Press cutting, Production File for *As You Like It*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹⁴ Email from Martin Morley to the Author, 16 May 2016

⁹⁵ David Gillard, 'Opera', *Daily Mail*, 20 March 1972, p. 17

for the images seen by Judith as she opens each door',⁹⁶ creating a 'kaleidoscope'⁹⁷ effect. In the design for *Much Ado about Nothing*, Koltai enclosed the stage with a 'mirrored floor'⁹⁸ and 'two large Perspex screens hanging from the flies adorned with painted foliage'.⁹⁹ Described by Billington as 'a brilliantly appropriate image', the effect of the staging was to create 'a hermetic, self-loving society dazzled by appearance and fashion'.¹⁰⁰ These design concepts clearly reflected Svoboda's influence not just in terms of form and material, but in spirit, as the scenography was integral to the meaning-making in both productions.

British lighting designer Richard Pilbrow views Svoboda as a leading authority on the use of mirrors on stage and adopted the techniques applied by Svoboda in a production of Verdi's *La Traviata*¹⁰¹ for an industry show with the British fibre-optic company STC, suggesting that 'it worked to turn a rather dry presentation of technology into quite a stunning event'.¹⁰² This reveals a sustained engagement with Svoboda's work as impetus for the development and imaginative application of new technologies.

In addition to its influence on leading UK designers, *The Insect Play* proved a springboard for further engagement with Svoboda's work in the UK. Svoboda's scenography was presented two further times at the WTS: in a 1969 Theatre Behind

⁹⁶ Steven Walsh, 'The Coliseum scores a double operatic success', *Observer*, 19 March 1972, p. 30

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Michael Billington, 'Much Ado about Nothing', *Guardian*, 21 April 1982, p. 11

⁹⁹ Michael Coveney, 'Much Ado about Nothing', *Financial Times*, 21 April 1982, p. 19

¹⁰⁰ Billington 1982, p. 11

¹⁰¹ *La Traviata*, Macerata Opera, Italy, 1992

¹⁰² Richard Pilbrow, *Stage Lighting Design: The Art, the Craft, the Life* (London: Nick Hern Books Limited, 1997), p. 97

the Gate production of *Three Sisters* (*Tři sestry*), directed by Krejča, and in a 1971 Schiller Theater production of *Yvonne, Princess of Burgundy* (*Yvonne, Prinzessin von Burgund*), directed by Ernst Schröder. *Three Sisters* opened on 28 April and showcased the importance of darkness to Svoboda's approach to scenography. Baugh writes in detail about the developments in post-war lighting technologies which enabled Svoboda to conceive of the stage space as 'an abstract spatial composition shaped by light'.¹⁰³ Svoboda set the production on a stage of two halves: the forestage was sparsely furnished with sofas, chairs and some box trees, while the backstage was low-ceilinged and furnished with dining table and chairs. As the action progressed, Svoboda used lighting to isolate small parts of the stage in an eerie half-darkness, radically decreasing the amount of visible space. By the third act the cloying darkness pressed the action forward. The actors emerged from the blackness and soft spotlights picked out those onstage from the surrounding gloom¹⁰⁴ [See Figures 15 and 16]. Illustrating Svoboda's notion of 'psycho-plastic space', the darkness gradually pressed in and the inevitability of the three sisters' fate became more and more palpable. Shorter described the actors as sitting 'in little pools of shadowed loneliness' and argued that 'the isolation of the characters has never seemed so vivid'.¹⁰⁵ For Shorter, the lighting caught 'every changing mood in a play which depends for its effect on mood' and concluded that Svoboda's work was 'always visually fascinating'. The long-term impact of this production is

¹⁰³ Baugh, p. 136

¹⁰⁴ Author's notes, Production Recording of *Tři sestry*, Archives of the Art and Theatre Institute, Prague

¹⁰⁵ Eric Shorter, 'Chekhov's people sit in vivid isolation', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 April 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Three Sisters*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

reflected in Billington's ability to recall vividly certain images, in particular the final scene of delirious grief, in which he describes how the sisters 'whirled around the stage like birds, migratory birds, who would never somehow, you knew, achieve flight, but the impulse to fly was there within them'.¹⁰⁶



Figure 15: *Three Sisters*, Theatre Behind the Gate, 1966. Photo by Vilém Sochůrek



Figure 16: *Three Sisters*, Theatre Behind the Gate, 1966. Photo by Vilém Sochůrek

¹⁰⁶ Michael Billington, Interview with Author, 19 March 2014

The impression of *Three Sisters* on British reviewers and audiences was affirmed by the invitation for the production to return in 1971, along with another Svoboda/Krejča collaboration on Chekhov's *Ivanov*. However, the visit was cancelled due to Krejča's dismissal from his post as director of the Theatre Behind the Gate following the Warsaw Pact Invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. This invasion put an end to a programme of liberalisation called the 'Prague Spring', which had been initiated by Alexander Dubček when he became leader of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia in January that year. Writing in *The Times*, Daubeney described the cancellation as 'a major artistic disaster' and 'a considerable setback to Anglo-Czech cultural relations'.¹⁰⁷ Daubeney signed a declaration of support for Krejča alongside other distinguished British practitioners, including Laurence Olivier, Paul Scofield, Trevor Nunn, Peggy Ashcroft, Peter Brook, Peter Hall, William Gaskill, Lindsay Anderson, and Arnold Wesker. The declaration read,

We affirm publicly our total solidarity with Otomar Krejča and his Company and we ask that the decision taken against him be reversed, and it is in the interests of his country. They are decisions which concern us all, since they endanger the activities of a man and a Company who are examples to us all.¹⁰⁸

The rally of support within the UK theatre industry was spearheaded by Daubeney, with the WTS now central in maintaining cultural links with Czechoslovakia. Other British theatrical expressions of solidarity with the Czechs after the invasion in 1968 included a 1970 Roundhouse production called *Palach*, written by Alan Burns and directed by Charles Marowitz.¹⁰⁹ The play took its name and its inspiration from the

¹⁰⁷ World Theatre Season General, Aldwych Theatre, 1971, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁰⁸ Box 13, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁰⁹ *Palach*, Roundhouse, 11 November – 8 December 1970

Czech student, Jan Palach, who burned himself in 1969 in protest at the Soviet invasion.¹¹⁰

Alongside subsequent WTS appearances, Svoboda was invited to work on three high-profile productions at the NT in London, demonstrating the immediate impact of the WTS on working practices and approaches to design in one of the UK's leading institutions. Svoboda collaborated with director John Dexter on *The Storm* in 1966, with Laurence Olivier on *Three Sisters* in 1967 and with Anthony Quayle on *The Idiot* in 1970. *The Storm* won the 1966 *Plays and Players* Critics Award for Best Set¹¹¹ and marked the beginning of a long and fruitful working relationship with Dexter. The pair collaborated on nine further productions, mostly operas, from 1966 to 1986.¹¹² The Olivier production of *Three Sisters* won Best Production and Best Set in the *Observer Review*,¹¹³ the 1967 London Critics' Award for Best Scenography,¹¹⁴ and was filmed by Alan Clore Films Limited with the Association of British Lion Films Limited in the autumn of 1969, winning Svoboda the Los Angeles Critics Award for film design in 1970. This high-profile collaboration with Olivier gave further weight and visibility to Svoboda's scenographic practice. The mutual respect and collaborative approach to the creative process was reported in the

¹¹⁰ For more information about this production please see: Jinnie Schiele, *Off-Centre Stages: Fringe Theatre at the Open Space and the Roundhouse, 1968 – 1983* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006), p. 48

¹¹¹ Felix Barker, 'Plays and Players 1966 Awards', *Plays and Players*, February 1967, pp. 48-52 (p. 48)

¹¹² See 'The Complete Register of Svoboda Productions, 1943 – 1992' in Svoboda, pp. 127-141

¹¹³ Anonymous, 'Briefing: Stayers of 1967', *Observer*, 31 December 1967. Press cutting, Production File for *Three Sisters*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹¹⁴ Svoboda, p. 11

press, giving weight to emerging collaborative processes, and both Olivier and Svoboda spoke warmly of their work together.¹¹⁵ Svoboda described how ‘the production emerged from discussions with Olivier around a circular white table on which we sketched, and from an open exchange of ideas’.¹¹⁶ In the Czech press Svoboda observed that, ‘Olivier and I understand each other excellently. He accepts my way of working and experimenting’.¹¹⁷ Olivier affectionately called the Czech designer ‘Swobie’ and declared that Svoboda’s concept was ‘exactly what he had dreamed of’ and that ‘the play ran off like woven silk’.¹¹⁸

The Olivier production of *Three Sisters* had a significant impact on British lighting design. The production showcased a technique that Svoboda was experimenting with at the time and that was also seen at the 1971 WTS in Svoboda’s design for the Schiller Theater’s *Yvonne, Princess of Burgundy*. The stage was covered in six miles of stout twine,¹¹⁹ which was transformed throughout the production using lighting. *Punch* published a particularly evocative description, detailing how the production,

opens with the sisters slowly walking, one after the other, on to the dimly lit stage towards a window hung with close, silvery rods like the grating of a prison. Josef Svoboda has draped all the walls of their cavernous room with these rods. They are like portcullises made of icicles. The figures of the actresses are tiny and seem already doomed in front of them.¹²⁰

In his report for *Tabs*, Bentham described how, at the end of the performance, ‘the play of the light among the vertical cords and the moiré interference shimmer

¹¹⁵ Svoboda details two points of contention in his memoirs. See Svoboda, pp. 98-99

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98

¹¹⁷ Press cutting, Art and Theatre Institute, Prague. My thanks to Barbora Adolfová for her help with translation

¹¹⁸ Bibliographical File for Josef Svoboda, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹¹⁹ Hallifax, p. 214

¹²⁰ Press cutting, Production File for *Three Sisters*, National Theatre, 1967, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

which their deployment in depth caused, perfectly evoked the sunlight in the autumn woods'.¹²¹ It is likely that Bentham provided technical support to Svoboda's experiments on this production. In a letter to Bentham from Dr. Jaroslav Pechar of the Czech Research Institute of Sound and Picture, Pechar reported on his experience working with Svoboda and the Czech director Radok on a production at the Komische Opera in East Berlin. He wrote,

At surmounting of different technical difficulties of scene illumination of the stage and on film projecting on the scene background, we remembered you very often, especially Mr. Svoboda, who several times gave vent to his discontent by the words: 'If it were in London, Strand Electric would immediately produce such or other luminaire or projection device, which I needed!'¹²²

The letter is dated 27 September 1967, after the opening of both *The Storm* and *Three Sisters*, which suggest that Bentham supported Svoboda's experiments on the British stage in his role as Head of Research and Development at Strand Electric¹²³ and that Svoboda's work functioned as an impetus for the development of new technologies as well as a model for their creative application in performance. In addition, Bentham's colleague and fellow lighting designer, Pilbrow, worked with Svoboda at the NT on both productions and subsequently praised him for having 'opened new vistas with light and projection'.¹²⁴ Detailing their work for *The Storm*¹²⁵ in particular, he described how Svoboda 'demonstrated the enormous

¹²¹ Frederick Bentham, 'Design by Svoboda', *Tabs*, 25, (1967), 14-18 (p.16)

¹²² Letter from Dr. Jaroslav Pechar of the Research Institute of Sound and Picture, Prague, to Frederick Bentham, 27 September 1967. Frederick Bentham Archive, THM/46, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²³ Strand Electric was founded in 1914 as a stage lighting company. In 1968 it was bought by Rank film Corporation and become Rank Strand. It still exists as Strand Lighting, an international theatre and television lighting company

¹²⁴ Pilbrow, p. 185

¹²⁵ Pilbrow reproduces the Lighting Demonstration in Pilbrow, p. 104

potential of projected scenery' and revealed the need 'to achieve a balance that illuminates the actors adequately and at the same time avoids the projection becoming dominant'.¹²⁶ An undated press cutting in the Svoboda private archive reveals that Pilbrow talked about his experience working with Svoboda at one of the weekly meetings of the ABTT,¹²⁷ held at the Mermaid Theatre. The Scenographic Institute in Prague provided two videos for this meeting, one of which included footage of Svoboda and Krejča's production of *Romeo and Juliet* (1963).

Fellow Lighting Designer Hersey, who co-founded DHA Designs with Pilbrow in 1988, also cites Svoboda as an inspiration for his practice. Hersey recreated Pilbrow's lighting design of *Three Sisters* for the NT's Los Angeles tour. This introduced him to Svoboda's use of beam lights, which he describes as 'a very important tool in my lighting arsenal'.¹²⁸ Hersey was particularly taken by Svoboda's 'wall' of light or 'la contra-luce Svoboda.' Using low-voltage battens of luminaries that produced parallel beams of brilliant white light, Svoboda was able to achieve the material quality of a wall. He developed 'the purest form of his wall of light'¹²⁹ over the course of the five productions of *Sicilian Vespers* that he worked on with John Dexter from 1969 to 1984. Hersey adopted this technique for a production called *Reflections*¹³⁰ realized with Ballet Rambert in 1976, and again for a production of *Dalibor* designed by Stefanos Lazaridis at the English National Opera (ENO) later that year. At the ENO, Lazaridis was keen to use the same bulbs as

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 99

¹²⁷ Press cutting, Svoboda Private Archive, Prague

¹²⁸ David Hersey, Email to Author, 28 March 2016

¹²⁹ Baugh, p. 140

¹³⁰ Choreographer, Robert North; Designer, Peter Farmer

Svoboda, manufactured by ADB, a Belgian company. The budget did not allow for this, however, so Hersey experimented with an alternative. He used 'a PAR56 VNSP light bulb that was originally used as a 747 landing light and it had a very intense beam, 5 degrees by 9 degrees.'¹³¹ With this, he built the first light curtain, which was used for *Evita* in 1978,¹³² *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* in 1980,¹³³ *Miss Saigon* in 1991,¹³⁴ and to create squares of light for *Chess* in 1986.¹³⁵ Hersey and Pilbrow continued to work on the light curtain, developing units that could move and change colour. In 1994, for a production of *Showboat* on Broadway, Pilbrow designed a pitching yoke for the light curtains, which allowed him to vary the horizontal angle of the unit as well as the tilt. Hersey then integrated this new technology into *Les Miserables*, which can still be seen at the Queen's Theatre on the London stage at the time of writing.

The extent to which Svoboda's work gave weight to design is also reflected in the number of exhibitions organized in the UK to run in parallel to his productions at the WTS and at the NT. On 16 May 1967, British architect Sir Hugh Casson opened the first UK exhibition of Svoboda's work at the Royal Institute of British Architects, from where the exhibition travelled to the City Art Gallery in Manchester. Described in the *Sunday Times* on 21 May 1967 as 'the most important theatrical event of the

¹³¹ David Hersey, Interview with Author, 09 March 2015

¹³² Hersey also designed the lighting for the original Broadway production, which opened in 1979. He won the Tony Award for Best Lighting Design in 1980

¹³³ Hersey was nominated for the Tony Award for Best Lighting Design in 1982

¹³⁴ Hersey was nominated for the Tony Award for Best Lighting Design and won the Drama Desk Award for Outstanding Lighting Design

¹³⁵ *Chess* opened on Broadway in 1988. Hersey won the Drama Desk Award for Outstanding Lighting Design that year

time',¹³⁶ the show exhibited photographs, drawings and press-button moving models of Svoboda's designs. In the same year, a second exhibition opened at the Grosvenor Gallery on 5 July, the day after *Three Sisters* opened at the NT. Entitled *Svoboda: London Designs*, this exhibition showcased designs from *Three Sisters* and *The Storm*. Other exhibits included designs for Svoboda's work on UK opera productions, including *The Woman Without a Shadow*, directed by Dr. Rudolf Hartmann, which had opened at Covent Garden's Royal Opera House a couple of weeks earlier, on 14 June. It also featured designs Svoboda had conceived for Czech productions of English-language plays, such as *Saint Joan* by Bernard Shaw, *The Jungle* by John Galsworthy, and *The Entertainer* by John Osborne. These exhibitions elevated Svoboda's scenographic practice to fine art status, culminating in his award of an honorary doctorate from London's Royal College of Art in 1969. This growing interest in the designer as autonomous artist was reflected in the editorial choices for *Plays and Players*. From October 1969 to March 1970, Billington held a monthly in-depth interview with different British designers, including Koltai, Timothy O'Brien, Sean Kenny, Christopher Morley, Tony Walton and Patrick Robertson. These interviews explored understandings of the designer's role, as well as individual influences and training, use of materials, relationship to text and working practices within UK institutions.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Svoboda Private Archive

¹³⁷ Timothy O'Brien (October 1969); Ralph Koltai (November 1969); Sean Kenny (December 1969); Christopher Morley (January 1970); Tony Walton (February 1970); Patrick Robertson (March 1970)

Long-term collaboration between British and Czech designers was formalized when the UK first took part in the Prague Quadrennial¹³⁸ in 1975, under the auspices of the National Theatre. Svoboda was a member of the committee that awarded the UK contingent a Gold Medal for Stage Design. The team of designers was led by Bury and comprised Koltai, O'Brien and Tazeena Firth. Upon their return, it was decided that the newly formed Society of British Theatre Designers (SBTD), whose inaugural meeting was in November 1975, would be responsible for determining what work would represent British designers at future PQs. Since then the SBTD has mounted exhibitions, generally at four yearly intervals, from which the British exhibit for the next PQ has been chosen. For the following PQ, in 1979, the UK showcased a wider range of work, including by younger designers, such as Alison Chitty, John Napier and Maria Björnson. That year, the UK won the Golden Triga National Award. The scenographic charge from Czech designers gave British designers the impetus to develop confidence as individual practitioners and rally together to represent their needs and achievements to the industry at home and internationally. Howard feels that the WTS served to 'strengthen the scenographic fraternity',¹³⁹ functioning as part of a network that included the ITI, OISTAT and PQ. Howard developed this international fraternity in her own professional life as scenographer and teacher, founding the European Scenography Centres in 1994, which consisted of an International Masters Course in Scenography, based at Central Saint Martin's College of Art and Design in London

¹³⁸ The Prague Quadrennial of Theatre Design and Architecture (PQ) was founded in Czechoslovakia in 1967

¹³⁹ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

but with centres in Helsinki, Prague, Seville and Utrecht. Svoboda was the patron of this course, which ran until 2000.

The WTS played a pivotal role in providing an initial platform in London for Svoboda's work. I have provided a detailed historical analysis of the first presentation of Svoboda's work on the London stage with the CNT production of *The Insect Play*, demonstrating how this production led to collaborations with leading UK directors at the NT and how Svoboda use of form and materials, as well as the spirit with which he approached his work, had a material impact on the work of leading designer, Koltai. Svoboda's collaboration with lighting designers Bentham and Pilbrow at the NT served as an impetus for developing lighting technologies and lent weight to the creative contribution of lighting to theatrical productions. I have sought to embed the WTS in broader networks of practitioners, demonstrating how it responded to and developed growing interest in models of design emerging from Czechoslovakia and fostered Anglo-Czech cultural relations more broadly. The WTS instigated a number of long-term relationships between UK and Czech stages and the relationship between the two national design communities continues to be fostered through the work of PQ.

Andrzej Wajda

In this section, I turn to the WTS's engagement with Polish theatre, specifically the presentation of Cracow Stary Theatre productions directed by Andrzej Wajda.

First, I will map out previous engagement with Polish theatre and culture in the UK, as well as Wajda's pre-established reputation as a filmmaker, in order to establish the conditions of reception at the WTS. I will then address *The Possessed* and

November Night in turn, providing production analyses and examining their impact on British performance culture. I demonstrate how *The Possessed* afforded international visibility to Wajda's parallel, prestigious career in the theatre, establishing his reputation in the UK as a director with a potent visual style in the vein of Brook.¹⁴⁰ I consider the long-term impact of *The Possessed* by tracing Wajda's return to UK stages with subsequent stage adaptations of Dostoyevsky novels and demonstrate how he came to be perceived as an authority on adapting Dostoyevsky to the stage. Through my analysis of *November Night*, I demonstrate how understandings of his stage work intersected with those of his films to shape British awareness of the mechanisms of Polish history and politics during the Cold War. Ultimately, this section seeks to inscribe Wajda's significance as a theatre director in the UK and to highlight the role played by the WTS developing links between British and Polish stages in the heightened context of the Cold War.

By 1972 there was already a significant interest and investment in Polish theatre in the UK, which the WTS had helped shape and develop in conjunction with key practitioners at the RSC and the Edinburgh Festivals. Before the WTS, Daubeney had presented the Polish State Dance Company for two months at the Stoll Theatre in 1951¹⁴¹ and he invited four Polish theatre companies to the WTS; the last of these was the Cracow Stary Theatre, which came for three consecutive seasons between 1972 and 1975. Poland was represented in the inaugural WTS in 1964 by the Polish

¹⁴⁰ Stan Gebler Davies, 'Assault by the Poles', *Evening Standard*, 23 May 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973. V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴¹ Daubeney 1971, p.15

Contemporary Theatre, by the Polish Popular Theatre in 1966, and by the National Theatre of Poland in 1967.¹⁴² These companies and their work had an immediate influence on UK repertoires and practices. The Polish Contemporary Theatre's visit was the catalyst for Howard's Arts Council funded trip to Poland in 1964,¹⁴³ where she became acquainted with the Polish designer Adam Kilian, whose work was subsequently seen at the WTS with the Polish Popular Theatre in 1966. The Polish Contemporary Theatre's production of *What a Lovely Dream* introduced the playwright Sławomir Mrożek to the UK stage and led to Nunn's RSC production of Mrożek's *Tango*, translated by Tom Stoppard, at the Aldwych Theatre in 1966. The link between the WTS and the RSC's wider engagement with Eastern European performance practice was further evident in the RSC's investment in the ideas outlined in Jan Kott's *Shakespeare our Contemporary*, published in English in 1964,¹⁴⁴ as well as Brook's invitation for Jerzy Grotowski and his lead actor, Ryszard Cieślak, to train RSC actors for his 1966 production *U.S.* The EIF was also reflecting and developing this growing interest in contemporary Polish theatre, presenting the Polish Mime Theatre in 1966 and Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre production of Stanisław Wyspiański's *Akropolis* in 1968. The Edinburgh Fringe introduced Tadeusz Kantor to the British stage in 1972, where the Cricot 2 group made its first appearance with an unofficial performance of *The Water Hen* at the former Edinburgh poorhouse.

¹⁴² See Appendix

¹⁴³ Pamela Howard, Interview with Author, 12 November 2015

¹⁴⁴ Dennis Kennedy, *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 7

In addition to appearing in a context that was increasingly receptive to contemporary Polish work, the Cracow Stary Theatre's debut on the UK stage at the WTS was highly anticipated due to Wajda's reputation as a renowned film director. His film work was first brought to the attention of British audiences by Lindsay Anderson,¹⁴⁵ who saw *Kanał* at the Cannes Film Festival in 1957. Anderson reviewed both that film and Wajda's earlier *A Generation* (1955) for *The Living Cinema* and for the NFT¹⁴⁶ magazine *Sight and Sound*. Anderson described Wajda as 'a new, outstandingly talented young director',¹⁴⁷ who has 'shown himself to be a genius at making films about war'.¹⁴⁸ He praised the spirit with which the films confront the realities of war and social and political conflicts and argued that it is their 'passionate faith in the *possibilities* of life that makes their picture of destruction so overwhelming'.¹⁴⁹ *Kanał* was presented that year at the inaugural London Film Festival (LFF). In his *Sight and Sound* review, Gene Moskowitz concluded that *Kanał* is 'the statement on the death struggle of Warsaw' [emphasis in the original] and that Wajda is 'the one true screen poet practising in Poland today'.¹⁵⁰ *A Generation*, *Kanał* and *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958) became famous as a Polish 'war trilogy' and were held up as exemplars of the Polish School of films, receiving regular screenings by the NFT and the BBC.¹⁵¹ As the reviews

¹⁴⁵ Lindsay Anderson (1923-1994) was a British film and theatre director

¹⁴⁶ The National Film Theatre was renamed the BFI Southbank in 2007

¹⁴⁷ Lindsay Anderson, 'Cannes 1957', *Sight and Sound*, Summer 1957, p. 25

¹⁴⁸ Lindsay Anderson, 'A New Talent', *The Living Cinema*, 01 July 1957, p.127

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Gene Moskowitz, 'The Uneasy East: Alexander Ford and the Polish Cinema', *Sight and Sound*, Winter 1957, p. 139

¹⁵¹ The trilogy was shown over the course of one day at the NFT in June 1968 and was programmed as part of a 'Best of World Cinema' series in 1973. It was screened on BBC2 as part of the World Cinema series in October and November 1971, just six months before Wajda's first appearance on the British stage

demonstrate, these films came to represent a moving statement of Polish experience under Nazi occupation and were lauded for their striking, uncompromising imagery, and their technical and artistic maturity.

The development of Wajda's career as a film director was subsequently closely followed by the UK film industry. New releases continued to be presented at the LFF¹⁵² and features were regularly published in *Films and Filming* and *Sight and Sound*.¹⁵³ Wajda received a particularly high level of attention in 1970, when he delivered a lecture at the NFT on 24 May as part of a series promoting the work of leading international film personalities. In an accompanying booklet, Wajda explained the special function of art in his Polish context,

It carries a certain burden of tradition, through the fact that for a hundred years the state did not exist, or it existed only in literature, in art, to which everyone could refer. It was the reflection and only real political life of the country. That's why our art, in Poland, still does not move towards the aesthetic-psychological, psychological-introspective experience of man, but always finds its place in the social sphere.¹⁵⁴

Wajda's film output up until this point is deeply preoccupied with national issues, and is characteristically Polish in its imagery and its reference to Polish Romanticism. The editorial notes suggested that despite the constraints of this tradition, Wajda succeeded in opening up the Polish "neurosis", making it "accessible" to a British audience. His films, then, played an important role in expanding British understandings of Polish history and politics. However, the

¹⁵² *Siberian Lady Macbeth*, 1962; *Everything for Sale*, 1968; *Landscape After Battle*, 1970. National Film Theatre Programmes, BFI Reuben Library

¹⁵³ *Films and Filming*, March 1960, p. 5; *Films and Filming*, November 1961, p. 9, pp. 16-17, pp. 40-41

¹⁵⁴ Bolesław Sulik, ed., *The John Player Lecture Series: Andrzej Wajda, Director* (London: National Film Theatre, 1970)

editorial notes also argued that *Everything for Sale* represented a turning point in Wajda's career. It is a film about an actor who dies in a train accident and, although his name is never mentioned, the subject is Zbigniew Cybulski, the actor who starred in Wajda's *Ashes and Diamonds* and died after being hit by a train in January 1967. For Bolesław Sulik,¹⁵⁵ this film presented a more individual and introspective kind of experience, akin to 'the aesthetic-psychological, psychological-introspective experience of man' that Wajda spoke of in his interview. According to film critic Colin McArthur, Wajda's 1968 film *Everything for Sale* represented his transition 'from an extremely interesting, visually exciting artist whose work was fully comprehensible only in the Polish context to an international artist who happens to be Polish'.¹⁵⁶ McArthur subsequently organised a retrospective of Wajda's work at the NFT in December of that year, offering 'the possibility of tracing Wajda's courageous struggle to personal and artistic maturity'.¹⁵⁷ By the time *The Possessed* opened at the Aldwych Theatre on 29 May 1972, Wajda was established in the UK as an artist of international standing, whose meditations on the themes of illusion and reality had put him on a par with Renoir, Godard and Antonioni, and whose bold, visual engagement with Polish history, society and politics had offered British audiences a glimpse into an otherwise closed-off world.

Wajda's films were a significant lens through which WTS audiences read and understood the productions presented at the WTS. Nettles recalled that she already

¹⁵⁵ Bolesław Sulik (1929-2012) was a Polish-born film-maker who settled in Britain after the War and spent his career working both in Poland and the UK

¹⁵⁶ Colin McArthur, 'Everything for Sale', *Sight and Sound*, Summer 1969, p. 139

¹⁵⁷ Colin McArthur, 'Wajda/Chabrol', National Film Theatre Programmes, December – February 1970/71, p. 10

knew Wajda 'as a brilliant film director' and that as a result she was 'in awe of the whole thing'.¹⁵⁸ The WTS production programmes also invoked his authority as a film director. In his programme notes for *The Possessed*, Michael Kustow wrote,

the baroque extravagance of Andrzej Wajda's films, which include the landmark trilogy *A Generation*, *Kanał* and *Ashes and Diamonds*, reflects Dostoyevsky's highly-strung intensity.¹⁵⁹

The programme notes for *November Night* asserted that 'common themes characteristic of his whole creative work appear' and that 'intimate scenes, psychologically condensed and full of dramatic tension, function as close-ups do in a film, contrasting violently with his overall visual conception'.¹⁶⁰ The following production analyses of *The Possessed* and *November Night* will be informed by the context of Wajda's films, demonstrating how his theatrical output similarly combined urgent political commentary with a potent visual style, giving weight to emerging models of theatrical direction and design and on his authority as a filmmaker.

The Possessed

Dostoyevsky's novel, completed in 1871, tells of a group of extremist revolutionaries professing anarchism and nihilism, and carrying out acts such as political assassination, arson and suicide to propagate their beliefs. Inspired by actual events of revolutionary violence in Russia, Dostoyevsky, who had belonged to similar clandestine groups in his youth, wrote a turbulent account of the violent

¹⁵⁸ Joyce Nettles, Interview with Author, 19 February 2015

¹⁵⁹ Production programme, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁰ Production programme, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

extremes of human behaviour in times of upheaval. Bryce Lease has commented on how Dostoyevsky's work, with its themes of 'disintegrating social values, changing gender relations, and the erosion of religious identity',¹⁶¹ was used in Communist Poland to represent 'the spiritual condition of the nation'.¹⁶² For Wajda, committing to a dramatization of the novel was a controversial choice. In Communist Poland, choices of repertoire and subject matter were carefully monitored and all films and theatre productions were subject to censorship. Wajda recalled that four theatres in Poland rejected his idea for *The Possessed*¹⁶³ before it was accepted by Jan Paweł Gawlik. At the time, Gawlik had been newly appointed as director of the Cracow Stary Theatre by the Communist authorities, replacing Zygmunt Hübner.¹⁶⁴ Wajda believed that Gawlik agreed to the production because he was given carte blanche by the authorities, who were invested in his success, and that he used this to introduce the kind of repertory that Hübner had been unable to touch.¹⁶⁵ Under Gawlik's direction, the Stary forged a role for itself that was defiant and Wajda developed a resistant stage practice, directing many of his most celebrated theatre pieces there, including *The Possessed* (1971), *November Night* (1974), *Nastasia Filippovna* (1977), *Antigone* and *Crime and Punishment* (1984), four of which were seen on the British stage.

¹⁶¹ Bryce Lease, *After '89: Polish Theatre and the Political* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 17

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ <http://www.webofstories.com/play/andrzej.wajda/197> [accessed 28 April 2016]

¹⁶⁴ Zygmunt Hübner (1930 – 1989) was a Polish actor and director, who directed the Cracow Stary Theatre between 1963 and 1969

<http://www.filmpolski.pl/fp/index.php?osoba=112645> [accessed 08 December 2017]

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.webofstories.com/play/andrzej.wajda/197> [accessed 28 April 2016]

Wajda filled the roles of adapter, director and designer for *The Possessed*. His dramatization diverged from an existing adaptation, written by the French-Algerian existentialist Albert Camus in 1959. Wajda only retained four of Camus' twenty-four scenes, explaining in the production programme that he found Camus' version too much of a drawing room play that did not encompass the 'cosmic drama'¹⁶⁶ of the novel. Wajda also argued that 'our knowledge of Russia is deeper and more precise',¹⁶⁷ something which the actor who played Peter Verhovensky, Wojciech Pszoniak, also pinpointed as significant, arguing 'il faut connaître un peu la mentalité russe' [you need to have a little knowledge of the Russian mentality]. Pszoniak attributed the production's success in the UK to this understanding, suggesting that 'le public londonien était choqué, fasciné, par ce monde inconnu'¹⁶⁸ [London audiences were shocked and fascinated by this unfamiliar world]. In contrast to Camus, Wajda took his prompt for his interpretation from Dostoyevsky's chosen Biblical epigraph about a herd of swine possessed by unclean spirits, racing madly into the sea. In *Plays and Players*, Hammond quoted Wajda explaining that he was attracted to 'the drama of these people, grasped by Dostoyevsky at that moment of terrifying constriction and madness'.¹⁶⁹ This investment in the characters was emphasized in the programme notes by the inclusion of Wajda's 'notes on the characters', alongside the synopsis. In an interview with Sulik in the *New Statesman*, Wajda said his interests were 'with the

¹⁶⁶ Production programme, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁷ Cited in Karpiński, p. 34

¹⁶⁸ Wojciech Pszoniak, Interview with Author, 06 April 2016

¹⁶⁹ Jonathan Hammond, 'Guide to the World Theatre Season', *Plays and Players*, May 1972, p. 18

plotters, with the political mechanism of subversion, and so the two young men, Stavrogin and Peter Verkhovensky, come to the fore'.¹⁷⁰ Nikolai Stavogrin, played by Jan Nowicki, was described in the programme in the following terms,

Ex-officer. Terribly bored with life. He possesses an unlimited power over himself and other people, but does not know how to apply it, which is the source of his suffering.

And Verkhovensky is described as,

The creator of a subversive organisation, whose aim is to undermine the system... His unattainable ideal of a man is Nicholas Stavrogin, whom he admires for his "unusual talent for crime".¹⁷¹

The relationship between these two characters provided the dramatic thrust of Wajda's production. In his review, Wardle argues that the production was 'fired by a marvelous Stavrogin-Peter partnership by Jan Nowicki and Wojciech Pszoniak'.¹⁷² He pinpointed the contrast between Nowicki's relative stillness, 'baring his teeth in mirthless smiles, leaning immobile on a cane until he loses patience with yet another contemptible member of the human race' and Pszoniak as 'all movement. Hugging himself with folded arms and crossed legs, he is always bounding into spasms of action that take in the whole stage'. Similarly, Barber described Nowicki as 'a handsome actor with something of the quiet intensity of a Scofield' and Pszoniak as remarkable as 'a clownishly gesticulating Verkhovensky'.¹⁷³ Shulman suggested that Nowicki could 'tilt an eyebrow or flash a sardonic smile that

¹⁷⁰ Bolesław Sulik, 'Talking to Wajda', *New Statesman*, 01 June 1973, p. 822

¹⁷¹ Production programme, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷² Irving Wardle, 'The Possessed, Aldwych', *The Times*, 30 May 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷³ John Barber, 'Nightmare Surrealism of Polish Possessed', *Daily Telegraph*, 30 May 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

instantly conveys the secret diabolism that motivates Stavrogin', whereas Pszoniak was 'a bouncing ball of manic energy as an impassioned nihilist'.¹⁷⁴ Explaining his interpretation of the role, Pszoniak suggested, 'j'ai dû chercher quelque chose en moi de mal absolu'¹⁷⁵ [I had to search for something within myself that was completely evil]. He rediscovered a memory of extreme emotion from his childhood, which he employed as a mechanism to understand the character. The movements then developed organically, attributing to the character 'une sorte d'énergie du diable ou du quelqu'un au bord d'une sorte de maladie, d'obsession'¹⁷⁶ [a sort of demonic energy, or the energy of someone on the verge of a kind of illness, of obsession]. This reflects what Karpiński describes as 'the emotional temperature by which the theatre of Andrzej Wajda is instantly recognizable'.¹⁷⁷ The other actors in the company also received high praise. Barber argued that, 'The disciplined company go all out for lurid sensation and achieve it',¹⁷⁸ and Schulman suggested that 'the cast is abrim with actors who are adept at the broad gestures and melodramatic nuances these Dostoyevsky characters demand'.¹⁷⁹

In Wajda's conception, the actors' performances existed in symbiotic relation with the other elements of the production, so that bodies, voices, set, music, and lighting all worked together to create meaning. Wajda placed his actors on a stage

¹⁷⁴ Milton Shulman, 'When the Demons Take Over', *Evening Standard*, 30 May 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁵ Wojciech Pszoniak, Interview with Author, 06 April 2016

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Karpiński, p. 118

¹⁷⁸ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁹ Shulman, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

described as ‘a bare expanse of the seething mud’¹⁸⁰ and ‘a mud-spattered wasteland’¹⁸¹ [see Figure 17]. There were two sources of inspiration for the set. The first was Alexander Pushkin’s poem ‘The Demons’, which tells of galloping horses pulling a sleigh through a snowstorm, pursued by demons; the second, was Józef Chełmoński’s *Trojka*, a painting depicting galloping horses against a plain, muddy landscape and a dark, cloudy sky.¹⁸² The embedded reference to a Polish painter was characteristic of imagery in Wajda’s films, but was not a readily available cultural reference point for London critics. Barber, however, observed that the design recalled ‘his grim film *Kanał*’,¹⁸³ which is set in the sewers under Warsaw during the Uprising.¹⁸⁴

The mud in *The Possessed* represented a striking and unusual use of stage material, and served two key functions. First, it made the stage surface uneven. Critic Gordon Gow described how ‘the footing was so deliberately and symbolically unsure that the actors tended to stumble as they strode about’.¹⁸⁵ In a manner that recalls García’s rake, seen at the WTS a year previously, and the trampoline for *Yerma*, which was presented in the same year as Wajda’s production, the unstable surface created by the mud represented the instability of the characters and the precarious nature of their social situation, on the verge of revolution. Second, as the

¹⁸⁰ J. W. Lambert, ‘Killers in Limbo’, *Sunday Times*, 04 June 1972, p. 37

¹⁸¹ Keith Nurse, ‘Nightmarish Intensity of ‘Possessed’, *Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973. V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸² Karpiński, p. 112; Grodzicki, p. 176

¹⁸³ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁴ The Warsaw Uprising took place between 01 August and 02 October 1944 and aimed to liberate the city from Nazi occupation

¹⁸⁵ Gordon Gow, ‘Living in Hope’, *Films and Filming*, February 1973, pp. 14-19 (p.19)

characters moved on stage, the mud slowly encroached on them, ‘caking men’s shoes and women’s skirt hems’.¹⁸⁶ Nettles recalled that ‘the mud would seep up the women’s dresses’.¹⁸⁷ Director Andrew Visnevski, remembered being struck by the power of the mud as stage metaphor for a ‘mucky society’.¹⁸⁸ Wardle argued that the mud communicated a ‘sense of barbaric regression’ and that ‘the characters are living in a sick and collapsing world’.¹⁸⁹ The reviewer for the *Sunday Telegraph* wrote that the set suggested ‘a deliquescent society and a volcano on the point of eruption’.¹⁹⁰ These critical responses suggest that the image resonated strongly as a stage metaphor.



Figure 17: *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972. Photo by Alex Agor.

¹⁸⁶ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁷ Joyce Nettles, Interview with Author, 19 February 2015

¹⁸⁸ Andrew Visnevski, Interview with Author, 18 February 2015

¹⁸⁹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹⁰ Lambert 1972, p. 37

The set was also conceived to encroach on the actors through Wajda's conception for the stage hands. Dressed in black with their faces covered, the stage hands initially were used only to bring in and out necessary props and furniture. Wardle described them closing in on the stage action 'little by little', observing that 'by the end they are physically manhandling the characters into position'.¹⁹¹ The idea, inspired by the role of the 'kuroko', the puppet manipulators in Japanese Bunraku,¹⁹² functioned as a powerful externalization of the destructive forces at work in Dostoyevsky's world. The sense of ominous foreboding was increased by what Wardle describes as 'a demoniacal soundtrack', which accompanied the scene changes. The music for the production was composed by Zygmunt Konieczny. Wajda credited it with creating a sense of 'terror'.¹⁹³ It was described elsewhere as an 'agonising electronic sound, ranging from ominous pulses and orgasmic screams'¹⁹⁴ and as 'frantic vocal cacophony'.¹⁹⁵

Wajda's expressionistic use of light contributed to the creation of an unsettling atmosphere. Esslin described lights flickering as well as figures 'shadowed against a clouded sky'.¹⁹⁶ Wajda's conception for the lighting also gave it a dynamic function in relation to the actors' performances. In a scene between Verkhovensky and Kirilov, which ends in Kirilov's suicide, an electric lamp was wired to a hidden

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² <http://www.webofstories.com/play/andrzej.wajda/200> [accessed 23 March 2016]

¹⁹³ <http://www.webofstories.com/play/andrzej.wajda/201> [accessed 28 April 2016]

¹⁹⁴ Lambert 1972, p. 37

¹⁹⁵ Michael Billington, 'The Possessed', *Guardian*, 30 May 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹⁶ Martin Esslin, 'The Possessed', *Plays and Players*, June 1972, p. 67

microphone with a device regulating the strength of light according to the volume of sound. Karpiński described how 'when Kirylov whispered, the light would dim; when Verkhovensky shouted, the lamp would glare brightly'.¹⁹⁷ As a result, the lighting reflected the dynamics of the scene until it finally concluded with 'the flash of gunshot lights'.¹⁹⁸ In this way, Wajda drew every stage element together to serve his vision for the production, creating a dynamic and visual adaptation of Dostoyevsky's novel, where actors, scenography, and music functioned dynamically as one conceptual whole.

The Legacy of *The Possessed* on the British Stage

The Possessed established Wajda's reputation as a leading theatre director alongside his reputation in film. Both Wajda and Pszoniak recall a 20-minute standing ovation after the opening night in 1972¹⁹⁹ and the production's critical and popular success was affirmed by the invitation to return in 1973 for the tenth anniversary. Karpiński argues this return visit launched Wajda's stage career internationally, describing it as a 'double triumph'.²⁰⁰ Wajda's bold interpretation of Dostoyevsky served as a striking example of director's theatre, influencing models of design and acting in the UK as well as establishing Wajda as an authority on stage adaptations of Dostoyevsky's work. After the WTS, Wajda and the Cracow Stary Theatre Company returned to the British stage with *Nastasia Filipovna*, an

¹⁹⁷ Karpinski, p. 38

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 40

¹⁹⁹ Wajda cited in Karpiński, p. 129 and Wojciech Pszoniak, Interview with Author, 06 April 2016

²⁰⁰ Karpiński, p. 112

interpretation of *The Idiot*, at the Edinburgh Fringe in 1981 and at the Riverside Studios in London in 1983, and with *Crime and Punishment* at the EIF in 1986.

The strength of Wajda's vision for *The Possessed* fed into discourses around the authority of the written word, contributing to the consolidation of director's theatre on British stages. Most critics dedicated a substantial part of their reviews to a comparison between Wajda's production and the original novel. While some bemoaned the loss of various dimensions of the novel, the production was widely praised for its conceptual unity. Wardle argued that the production missed the element of social satire and suggested that 'once again the most theatrical of novelists has eluded the stage adaptor'.²⁰¹ He recognised, however, that 'the production is pitched to the book's grotesque horrors and violent collisions of mood' and suggested it 'does full justice to them, and to the denouement'.²⁰² Similarly, Barber argued that 'the book's religious gravity gets no chance in this frenetic version', but concluded that 'Wajda brilliantly succeeds in his object – to create a society caught in a moment of terrible seizure and madness'.²⁰³ Billington's review was particularly evocative, suggesting that watching the production was 'like reading Dostoyevsky by flashes of lightning' and explaining that the production 'abandons the sustained chronological trudge through the great novel and gives instead a controversial, subjective vision'.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰⁴ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

The visual impact of the production received a substantial amount of critical attention, particularly for its perceived cinematic qualities. Wardle identified ‘a cinematic sense of construction, by which brief scenes are linked by images and thematic contrast’,²⁰⁵ a quality that Shulman argued ‘adds to this metaphoric impression of people swept into a whirlpool of lunacy’.²⁰⁶ Esslin suggested that Wajda approached the production ‘like a film’ and concluded that he has created ‘a piece of total theatre’.²⁰⁷ In the tenth anniversary programme, Kustow argued that Wajda ‘uses every cinematic device of emphasis and compression to create a stunningly alarming impact that distils the most mysterious powers of the stage’.²⁰⁸ This at once reveals the significance of Wajda’s film work as a frame of reference for understanding his stage work and demonstrates the influence of film on emerging visual languages of the stage. The production’s visual imagery also elicited allusions to Fine Art from Billington, who compared the set to ‘a Bacon painting’.²⁰⁹ Wajda had trained as a painter at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, before studying film-making at the Lodz Film School.²¹⁰

Wajda’s use of mud fed into growing experimentation with the materiality of the stage floor, which had come to greater prominence since the growth of interest in thrust stages and theatre in the round in the 1960s and 1970s. The designer Richard Negri, for example, worked with sand for a production of *The Tempest* with the 69

²⁰⁵ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰⁶ Shulman, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰⁷ Esslin 1972, p. 67

²⁰⁸ WTS anniversary programme, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Karpiński, p. 10

Theatre Company in Manchester in 1969, and with a slate floor for a production of *Peer Gynt* with the same company in 1971.²¹¹ Wajda's design for *The Possessed* was arguably a strong influence on Michael Levine's design for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the NT in 1992, which was directed by Robert LePage and performed in 'a huge puddle of water circled by oozing, black mud'.²¹² Caking the actors' bodies and costumes, the mud in LePage's production functioned to suggest that 'the primal forces of nature were *not* cloaked in romantic garb, revealing/confirming the brutality of love in its truest colours – drab, muddy brown'.²¹³ In both productions, the mud was used to externalise a destructive force: in *The Possessed* to reveal society's corruption and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to suggest a darker side to Shakespeare's comedy and to undermine romanticized images of love.

The discipline and power of the company of actors also left a lasting impression on the British stage and led to several international collaborations. In his review of the return visit in 1973, critic Robert Brustein argued,

At the very first moment of contact with this wonderful Polish company one sensed the overpowering exaltation that the audience felt during the Moscow Art Theatre's productions in its prime.²¹⁴

Brustein's allusion to the impact of the Moscow Art Theatre demonstrates how struck he was by the performances. The following year, in his role as Artistic

²¹¹ <http://www.richardnegri.co.uk/designing.htm> [accessed 17 December 2017]

²¹² Sarah Hemming, 'The watered-down version: Robert LePage's new National Theatre production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* brings Shakespeare down to earth – it is set in a swamp', *Independent*, 30 June 1992. <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-the-watered-down-version-robert-lepages-new-national-theatre-production-of-a-midsummer-1530496.html> [accessed 17 December 2017]

²¹³ William W. Demastes, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Theatre Journal*, 45.2 (1993), 238-40 (p. 238)

²¹⁴ Robert Brustein, 'The Possessed', *Observer*, 27 May 1973. Press cutting, Production File for *The Possessed*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973. V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Director of the Yale Repertory Theatre in the US, Brustein invited Wajda to restage the production with American students, including a young Meryl Streep.²¹⁵ Nettles, who was working as Daubeny's secretary in 1972 and 1973, recollected that 'the acting was phenomenal. Just breathtakingly good – they had a physical quality that English actors rarely have'.²¹⁶ Nettles went on to become a Casting Director and cast Pszoniak in a production of Rattingan's *The Deep Blue Sea*, directed by Karel Reisz at the Almeida in 1993, and in an episode of *Kavanagh QC* for director Jack Gold in 2001. When the company returned to London's Riverside Studios with *Nastasia Filipovna*, the acting had a significant impression on director Peter McAllister, now Senior Lecturer in Acting at the Royal Central School of Speech and Drama, University of London. McAllister subsequently won a Polish Government scholarship, co-ordinated by the British Council, to study theatre directing in Poland, and worked at the Stry Theatre as 'asystent' [assistant] to Wajda on his production of *Antigone*.²¹⁷ He suggested that the experience of working with the Cracow Stry Theatre Company, which functioned as ensemble company in a repertory theatre, impacted on how he approached actor training. He recalled that seeing actors play such a variety of different roles in one company gave him a new appreciation of 'the range and potential of an actor' and shaped his understanding of training as 'explorative',²¹⁸ feeding both into his practice as a director and a teacher. Upon his return to the UK, McAllister collaborated with the Polish Theatre in Hammersmith, supporting English-language productions of contemporary Polish

²¹⁵ Karpiński, p. 113

²¹⁶ Joyce Nettles, Interview with Author, 19 February 2015

²¹⁷ Peter McAllister, Interview with Author, 29 April 2016

²¹⁸ Ibid.

plays.²¹⁹ These ripples of influence continued to sustain interest in Polish culture and influence British performance culture long after the end of the WTS.

The production of *Nastasia Filipovna* (a stage adaptation of *The Idiot*), as well as Wajda's *Crime and Punishment* at the EIF in 1986, confirmed Wajda's reputation as an authority on adapting Dostoyevsky novels for the stage. *Nastasia Filipovna* won a Special Award at the Edinburgh Fringe in 1981²²⁰ and was subsequently invited by Gothard to transfer to London in 1983, representing another example of the enduring influence of the WTS on Gothard's programming choices. Wajda's adaptation focused on the penultimate chapter of the novel and presented the final meeting between Prince Myskin, who had been abandoned by Nastasia on the eve of their wedding, and Rogozkin, Nastasia's secret lover. Myskin arrives at Rogozkin's house to discover that he has stabbed Nastasia through the heart, and the production depicts the 'coming-together of the two long-divided men in a tenderly mortal pact that finally reduces Rogoskin to terminal delirium and the prince to permanent lunacy'.²²¹ The critical reception around the production expressed some frustration with the fact that it was performed in Polish without subtitles, but the acting was seen to mitigate this issue to an extent. The *Observer* critic argued that, 'these Polish actors convince you that there are areas of the soul into which none of our players could penetrate'²²² while Spencer contended that 'it is clear that the

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Karpiński, p. xvi

²²¹ Irving Wardle, 'An act of dramatic speculation', *The Times*, 07 September 1983. Press cutting, Production File for *Nastasia Filipovna*, Riverside Studios, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²² *Observer*, 04 September 1983. Press cutting, Production File for *Nastasia Filipovna*, Riverside Studios, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

two actors are giving performances of both power and subtlety and the atmosphere is oppressively claustrophobic'.²²³ Spencer went on to describe the evening as 'gripping but tantalizingly frustrating', a sentiment echoed by Wardle, who suggested that the possibility that he was watching a 'masterpiece' which he was unable to access because of the language barrier was 'deeply frustrating'.²²⁴

The Edinburgh run of *Crime and Punishment* was met with no such frustration. Programmed as the opening production of Dunlop's 'World Theatre Season', alongside Espt's revival of *Yerma* and productions by Bergman, *Crime and Punishment* functioned simultaneously as tribute to Daubeny and the WTS and to the enduring reputation of Wajda and the Cracow Stary Theatre on the British stage. It was deemed a fitting choice in the press discourse. Francis King reflected that 'there could have been no more impressive event than Andrzej Wajda's production'²²⁵ to launch the festival and John Peter suggested that the festival was 'at its best when it fulfils its original aspirations of international excellence' and that the choice of Wajda's production was 'in this spirit'.²²⁶ Although once again presented in Polish without a translation facility, Barber reported he was 'held

²²³ Charles Spencer, 'Nice mood, shame about the talk', *Sunday Telegraph*, 07 September 1983. Press cutting, Production File for *Nastasia Filipovna*, Riverside Studios, 1983, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁴ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁵ Francis King, 'A small scale-', *Sunday Telegraph*, 17 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁶ John Peter, 'A Stage for All the World', *Sunday Times*, 17 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

enthralled'²²⁷ and Billington stated he left the theatre with 'exhilarated spirit'.²²⁸

Wajda's adaptation of the novel focused on the murderer, Raskolnikov, played by Jerzy Radziwiłowicz, and his relationships with both the examining magistrate, Petrovich, played by Jerzy Stuhr, and Sonia, played by Barbara Grabowska-Oliwa. While Ratcliffe argued that this paring down of the narrative disconnected the arguments from 'the real world of urban suffering, injustice and corruption', as a result of which 'a great deal was lost',²²⁹ both Billington and Coveney felt it provided a compelling and authoritative adaptation. They provided extended comparative analyses between Wajda's adaptation and a previous one by Russian director Yuri Lyubimov, which was presented at the Lyric Hammersmith in 1983 and won Lyubimov the Evening Standard Award for Best Director. Billington described Wajda's version as 'diametrically different' because Lyubimov 'tried to encompass the whole story', whereas 'Wajda focuses on the cat and mouse confrontations of the killer Raskolnikov and the magistrate Porfiry'. Billington concluded that Wajda's approach was the more effective, suggesting that the production 'proves the key to adaptation lies in expressing a particular vision of a novel rather than in simply ironing out its incidents'.²³⁰ Coveney, too, argued that, unlike Lyubimov's adaptation, 'Wajda distils the intellectual heart of Dostoyevsky's novel and ignores

²²⁷ John Barber, 'The genius that hurtles past madness', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁸ Michael Billington, 'Wajda's vision of deadly kinship', *Guardian*, 11 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²²⁹ Michael Ratcliffe, 'Clearing the stage for two masters', *Observer*, 17 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁰ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

all peripheral incident'.²³¹ As with *The Possessed*, Wajda's adaptation of *Crime and Punishment* was praised for its strength of vision, which did not try to encompass every dimension of the novel but instead transposed it onto the stage, combining all elements into a conceptual unity.

The authority of Wajda's stage adaptation of *The Possessed* was also invoked in relation to Lyubimov's adaptation of the same novel, which had its British premiere at the Almeida Theatre on 21 March 1985.²³² Public discourses linked Lyubimov's adaptation genealogically to Wajda's. A leaflet for the production invoked the success of Wajda's version, suggesting that the novel was last seen 'last seen on stage in London in the 1972 World Theatre Season, in a celebrated dramatization by Andrzej Wajda' and the production programme provides a potted history of '*The Possessed* on stage', which discussed both Camus' and Wajda's versions and referred to the WTS. The prominence of Wajda's version in these discourses references the production team's experience of the WTS. It was a co-production between the Almeida Theatre Company, the Théâtre de L'Europe, Piccolo Theatre of Milan and Channel 4 Television. The Piccolo Theatre of Milan had presented work at the WTS in 1967, with Italian director Giorgio Strehler, who went on to found the Théâtre de L'Europe in 1983. The commissioning arts editor for Channel 4 was Michael Kustow,²³³ who had written programme notes for the WTS during his

²³¹ Michael Coveney, 'Crime and Punishment/Edinburgh Festival', *Financial Times*, 11 August 1986. Press cutting, Production File for *Crime and Punishment*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1986, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³² Production File for *The Possessed*, Almeida Theatre, 1985, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³³ Michael Kustow worked in the Press and Publicity Department at the RSC between 1964 and 1968, during which time he edited the RSC magazine *Flourish* and wrote his first book, *The Book of US*, about Brook's anti-Vietnam war protest play *Us*, which he scripted

period at the RSC in his role, including the tenth anniversary souvenir programme entry for Wajda's *The Possessed*. This international collaboration, then, represents WTS influence in developing a theatrical epistemic community, which facilitated the circulation of ideas and the exchange of experts internationally.

November Night

Wajda's production of Wyspiański's *November Night* opened the 1975 WTS. Rees recollected that he and Molly Daubeney²³⁴ had to negotiate to secure the production, in the face of reluctance on the part of the Polish authorities. They instead offered Konrad Swinarski's production of Adam Mickiewicz's *Forefathers' Eve*, an enormous spectacle involving a 100-strong cast, which Rees suspected was proposed in the knowledge that it could never be accommodated on the Aldwych stage. Given that both plays address the same subject - the 1830 Polish uprising against the Russian Empire - it was not the choice of play but rather the figure of Wajda that was contentious. A document smuggled to the West from the Polish Censor's Office in 1977 stated that Wajda's 'theatrical and film output and the interviews he gives demonstrate that, in ideological and political terms, he is not with us',²³⁵ so perhaps the Polish authorities aimed to put obstacles in the way of Wajda's appearance at the WTS to limit his visibility on the international stage. Rees and Molly Daubeney nevertheless secured *November Night* for the WTS by

alongside the poet Adrian Mitchell and the playwright, Denis Canan. For more information see: <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2014/aug/31/michael-kustow> [accessed 11 January 2018]

²³⁴ By 1975 Peter Daubeney was too ill to oversee the day to day running of the festival and his role was largely filled by his wife, Molly.

²³⁵ Darragh O'Donoghue, 'The Shifting British Reception of Wajda's Work from *Man of Marble* to *Katyń* in Ewa Mazierska and Michael Goddard, eds, *Polish Cinema in a Transnational Context* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014), pp. 37-55 (p. 44)

finding Southwark Cathedral as a venue for *Forefathers' Eve* and returned to the Polish authorities to suggest that they would accept *Forefathers' Eve* on the condition that *November Night* came too.²³⁶ This demonstrates the vital role played by the WTS in providing an international platform for Wajda's theatrical output in the West during the Cold War. The visibility afforded by the WTS facilitated further touring for *November Night*. Two representatives from the Holland Festival visited the WTS to see the production: technical director Bob Ruivekamp and dramaturg Janine Brogt.²³⁷ *November Night* was subsequently presented at the Holland Festival, Rotterdam and Amsterdam later in the year. It was also seen at the Berliner Festtage in 1977.²³⁸

The Polish playwrights Mickiewicz and Wyspiański were largely unknown in the UK. Mickiewicz had never been staged, while Wyspiański had been introduced to the British stage by the Polish Popular Theatre, which brought *Wesele* (*The Wedding*) to the WTS in 1966. Wajda's film *Wesele*, based on the play, had also been released in a cinema in Ealing in 1973. Wyspiański's *Akropolis* had been presented by Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre at the EIF in 1968.²³⁹ For Wardle, the WTS productions represented 'a great and, for us, unexplored area of European drama'.²⁴⁰ Mickiewicz's *Forefather's Eve* was written 1832, two years after the 1830 Uprising against Russia, and is viewed as the paradigmatic piece of literature from

²³⁶ David Rees, Interview with Author, 17 March 2016

²³⁷ THM/85/1/2, Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²³⁸ Karpiński, p. xv

²³⁹ O'Donoghue in Mazierska and Goddard, p. 39

²⁴⁰ Irving Wardle, 'November Night', *The Times*, 01 April 1975. Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Polish Romanticism, a literary movement rooted in a struggle for liberation, both from the constraints of Classicism and from Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which partitioned Poland in 1795. Wyspiański was the first person to stage *Forefather's Eve* and in 1904 he wrote his own account of the uprising, *November Night*, at a point where Poland had been partitioned between Russia, Austria and Prussia for over a hundred years. The nation had also lived through a second unsuccessful insurrection, the January Insurrection of 1863. Both plays represent powerful and emotive signifiers of Polish patriotism. Despite the resistant potential of these plays, the Communist Party in Poland actively encouraged the development of national identity that drew on Polish Romanticism. Jadwiga Maurer argues that this was because it contributed to the 'dominance of national myth',²⁴¹ which was totalising, homogenising, and created a uniformity. It risked stirring up anti-Russian sentiment, however, as demonstrated by the official closure of Kazimierz Dejmek's production of *Forefathers Eve*,²⁴² in January 1968. After the last performance, 300 members of the audience went to the statue of Mickiewicz in the city, festooning it with flowers and banners. Coming as it did so close after the 'Prague Spring', students were also inspired to organize demonstrations against the closure in January and again later in March, which led to many arrests and the closure of eight departments at Warsaw University.²⁴³ As Lease has observed,

Romanticism is more than a genre in Poland; it signifies a commitment to community-building, collective belonging, self-assertion and a defense of

²⁴¹ Jadwiga Maurer, 'Preface', in Elwira M. Grossman, *Studies in Language, Literature, and Cultural Mythology in Poland: Investigating 'The Other'* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. x

²⁴² Opened on 25 November 1967, Warsaw National Theatre.

²⁴³ For more information about these events, including PEN's involvement, see Anthony Kemp-Welch, *Poland Under Communism: A Cold War History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

independence but also, and perhaps more importantly, Romanticism offered a social critique, identifying truths that are uncomfortable for the nation to hear.²⁴⁴

As I will go on to demonstrate, Wajda's production of *November Night* engaged with the Romantic tradition in the spirit of the 'social critique' identified by Lease, using the production to warn against the heroic myth of the insurrection and exposing the tragic futility of the heroes, in a similar vein to many of the denouements in his films, such as *A Generation*, *Kanał* and *Ashes*.

Wyspiański's *November Night* is set in Łazienki Park in Warsaw and takes place on the night of 29 November 1830. The play is structured around two main levels of action. The first takes place in the School of Cadets, described as 'the nest of the national insurrection',²⁴⁵ and is of an epic scale. It depicts interactions between a group of young Cadets, 'university students, and writers',²⁴⁶ and mythological characters, such as Pallas Athene, Nike of Salamis, Nike of Thermopylae, Nike of Cheronea and Napoleon's Nike (all goddesses of victory), Kore, Ares, Demeter, and Charon, who start an insurrection to put an end to Russian rule in Warsaw and liberate Poland. The structure of characters invites parallels to Homeric epic poems and lends the action the dimension of an antique tragedy of fate [see Figure 18]. In his review, Trewin describes 'the use of the goddesses who, as in the Iliad, issue

²⁴⁴ Lease, p. 55. Also see Karpiński, pp. 117-19

²⁴⁵ Elzbieta Wysinska, *Theatrical Events: November Night, by Stanisław Wyspiański, directed by Andrzej Wajda at the Stary Theatre in Cracow*. Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁴⁶ *Stanisław Wyspiański, November Night, translated by Joanna Revkovska-Royce*. Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

their call to war'.²⁴⁷ The second level of action is contrastingly intimate, presenting the Grand Duke Constantine, played by Jan Nowicki (Stavrogin in *The Possessed*), and his wife Joanna, the Duchess of Lowicz, played by Teresa Budzisz-Kryzanowska in their home, Belvedere Palace, described as 'a symbol of the seizure of power over the country by the tsarist authorities'.²⁴⁸ These psychologically intense scenes depict the Grand Duke torn by conflicting loyalties. The Russian Tsar is his brother and yet he is linked to Poland by marriage to Joanna, who hopes for the resurrection of the Polish state and believes that the Duke should side with the insurgents.



Figure 18: *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975. Photographer unknown.

²⁴⁷ J. C. Trewin, 'November Night', *Birmingham Post*, 02 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁴⁸ Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

Wajda's concept for the production reconceived the play as an operetta with music composed by Konieczny, who worked with Wajda on *The Possessed*. The stage directions were sung by the chorus and a few character parts were set to music too. Marcus described 'an atmosphere of unremitting operatic passion', suggesting the production had 'the hypnotic quality of *Carmina Burana*'.²⁴⁹ Barber also argued that the music added greatly to the atmosphere in the production, suggesting that it was 'exciting in the way Chopin's Revolutionary Study is exciting: there is no mistaking its angry fervour'.²⁵⁰ This operatic register was matched by the 'visual grandeur'²⁵¹ of Wajda's striking design concept and by the costumes designed by Krystyna Zachwatowicz.²⁵² The set suggested Łazienki Park through an environment of minimalist symbolism. Christopher Hudson of the *Evening Standard* described 'a foreground of laurel leaves scattered among broken marble pillars',²⁵³ while the reviewer for the *Observer* recounted 'withered branches and decapitated statues'.²⁵⁴ The WTS souvenir programme revealed that the 'broken marble pillars' were intended to symbolise fragments of the theatre in the park and that one of

²⁴⁹ Frank Marcus, 'Polish Ham', *Sunday Telegraph*, 06 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁰ John Barber, 'Homeric gods frame Polish fantasy', *Daily Telegraph*, 01 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵¹ *Observer*, 06 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵² Krystyna Zachwatowicz (1930 -) is a Polish scenographer, costume designer and actress. She developed a long and prestigious career both in Poland and internationally, working with Argentinian director Jorge Lavelli in Paris, for example (Bradby and Delgado, p. 12)

²⁵³ Christopher Hudson, 'World Theatre Season', *Evening Standard*, 01 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁴ *Observer*, 06 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

the statues positioned stage left represented King John Sobieski II, a 'symbol of the victory of the Polish arms',²⁵⁵ which the insurgents surround while they wait for the signal to go to the Belvedere Palace and capture the Grand Duke in Scene Three.²⁵⁶ Wajda facilitated transition between the School of Cadets and Belvedere Palace by creating an additional space at the back of the stage, which was revealed through the opening of 'huge isolated double doors'.²⁵⁷ Visnevski recalled that, for one such transition, light flooded in through the open doors 'blinding the audience, creating a theatrical shock within a seemingly realistic palace interior but of a totally non-realistic kind, of a theatrical kind'.²⁵⁸ McAllister, who saw the production in Cracow in 1983, also remembered Wajda's expressionistic use of light and dark, which served to heighten and intensify the atmosphere on stage.²⁵⁹ Marcus described Wajda's use of 'shafts of lurid green and red light to illuminate a scene, like an expressionist re-working of Delacroix'.²⁶⁰ These allusions to visual art demonstrate the striking images created by Wajda. Zachwatowicz's richly adorned costumes also underlined the epic dimension of the production: Pallas Athene was described as 'dressed in snakes and a Wagnerian headpiece',²⁶¹ and the goddesses were winged and in togas.

²⁵⁵ Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁵⁶ Production programme, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁷ *Observer*, 06 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵⁸ Andrew Visnevski, Interview with Author, 18 February 2015

²⁵⁹ Peter McAllister, Interview with Author, 29 April 2016

²⁶⁰ Marcus, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶¹ Christopher Hudson, 'World Theatre Season', *Evening Standard*, 01 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

The narrative arc and imagery of Wajda's production both celebrated and deplored the myth of the November Insurrection. The production began with what Wardle described as a 'tremendous burst of Polish nationalism'.²⁶² The first character to appear on stage is 'the giant figure'²⁶³ of Pallas Athene, who is revealed as the curtain rises 'on a clap of thunder'.²⁶⁴ Wysinska's programme notes revealed that the actress playing Pallas Athene stood on the shoulders of another actor,²⁶⁵ making her twice as tall as any other figure on stage. Visnevski recalled the 'shock effect' of her presence, remembering her great height, as well as her voice being magnified.²⁶⁶ In this first scene, Pallas Athene then calls the cadets to arms.

Karpiński outlined how,

the stage was crowded with uniformed young men. The distribution of arms which followed was part military drill and part final farewell. To the beat of a drum the young cadets started marching downstage, straight at the audience, led by Wysocki with a raised sword. High above them floated the golden helmet and aegis of Pallas Athene.²⁶⁷

By all accounts, this was a moment of great theatrical excitement and might have appeared to exalt the Romantic theme of Polish liberation. McAllister recalled that, on the night he saw the production in Cracow, when the young cadets first charged onto the stage 'a ripple went through the audience, a current of emotional feeling'.²⁶⁸ By the end of the production, however, the rousing presence of Pallas Athene had been replaced by the sinister Charon, the ferryman of Hades, who, in

²⁶² Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶³ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁴ Hudson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁶⁵ Box 15, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

²⁶⁶ Andrew Visnevski, Interview with Author, 18 February 2015

²⁶⁷ Karpiński, p. 53

²⁶⁸ Peter McAllister, Interview with Author, 29 April 2016

Barber's words, was 'ferrying the corpses of the fallen across the Styx'.²⁶⁹ Visnevski spoke of this as 'the scene I will never forget', describing it as,

an enormous statement, a plastic statement; a shaped, living sculpture on stage, which was not part of the English theatre tradition but very much part of the Polish theatre tradition, of using the bodies to create sculptures on stage. It certainly affected me deeply.²⁷⁰

The image of a youthful passion for freedom had faded and the audience was left with a striking tableau of the tragic futility of the heroes' fight for liberation. This reflects the 'social critique' identified by Lease and the 'strong sense of historical and social responsibility',²⁷¹ which Karpiński describes as 'one of the vital elements' of the heritage of Romanticism.

The parallel intimate scenes between Constantine and Joana presented a theme explored in many of Wajda's films: individuals in an extreme situation, at a great historical and social turning point. This situation was reflected in the intense performance idiom employed by Nowicki. Many critics described his performance as Constantine using language that recalled his previous role as Stavrogin in *The Possessed*. Wardle referred to him as 'a demoniac creature of Polish dualism'²⁷² and Hobson suggested that he presented 'a man torn between two conflicting loyalties' as 'one demoniacally possessed'.²⁷³ Marcus outlined how he is presented as 'tearing himself apart in his conflict of loyalties, alternating between maniacal glee

²⁶⁹ Barber, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁰ Andrew Visnevski, Interview with Author, 18 February 2015

²⁷¹ Karpiński, p. 118

²⁷² Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷³ Harold Hobson, 'Demons in the Night', *Sunday Telegraph*, 06 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

and sudden, unexpected moments of tenderness'.²⁷⁴ Budzisz-Krzyzanowska as Joana was described, by contrast, as 'ice to his fire'.²⁷⁵ Their relationship was set out in erotic terms. Billington observed that, 'as they snarl words like 'Peasant' and 'Whore' at each other one gets the impression of an abrasive Strindbergian eroticism'.²⁷⁶ This allusion to Strindberg underscores the naturalism and intimacy of these scenes in stark contrast with the pictorial form of the epic scale scenes [see Figure 19]. This created what Billington saw as a 'realistic-epic' style and what Trewin called 'an adventure in the psychological-mythological'.²⁷⁷ These depictions demonstrate that British critics lacked the vocabulary to describe the style of theatre presented by the production. Indeed, Billington suggested that it is a kind of theatre that British audiences are 'unused to', demonstrating the productive challenge issued by the Cracow Sary Theatre and the WTS to the dominant naturalism of UK stages.

Wajda's production of *November Night* united verse, music, dance, psychological realism and heroic action to create a striking piece of theatre celebrating Polish history and Romanticism, whilst also intervening in this history and issuing a warning to contemporary Polish audiences about the dangers of exalting national myths. Karpiński describes Wajda as a director who 'is not merely a bystander but an active participant in the history of his own country'.²⁷⁸ In the following section I

²⁷⁴ Marcus, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁵ Michael Billington, 'November Night', *Guardian*, 01 April 1975. Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Trewin, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁷⁸ Karpiński, p. 119

will consider to what extent this production resonated with British audiences and went on to have an impact on performance culture in the UK.



Figure 19: *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975. Photograph by Wojciech Plewinski.

The Legacy of *November Night* on the British stage

November Night consolidated Wajda's reputation in the UK as a leading theatre director and aligned his theatre output with his films, in terms of the role played by both in shaping British awareness of the mechanisms of Polish history and politics during the Cold War. In this section, I address the reception and immediate impact

of the production and trace Wajda's subsequent career on British stages and screens, foregrounding the role played by the WTS in lending his theatrical output an international profile and arguing that critical understanding of his stage work enriches understandings of his achievements in film.

November Night resonated with British critics and practitioners for its production values and the insights it facilitated into Polish history and its resonance for the contemporary Polish context. Some critics argued that the Polish particularities of the production proved an obstacle for WTS audiences. Hudson, for example, suggested that the production's 'relentless symbolism' rendered it only 'remotely accessible to English audiences'.²⁷⁹ The descriptions of the set in the critical reviews certainly reveal that reviewers were unable to decipher much of the Polish symbolism, such as the significance of the statue of King John Sobieski. The critic for *Lady* also argued that the production 'is tuned especially for Polish ears; it has to come to English audiences from a long remove'.²⁸⁰ Wardle welcomed the opportunity to discover hitherto unfamiliar Polish drama, but he too warned that the WTS audience 'will not get a coherent narrative of the uprising from this play' and that it has been directed by Wajda 'from the vantage point of the Polish myths that have developed since Wyspianski's time'.²⁸¹ For other critics, however, the production succeeded in expanding understandings of Polish history, culture and politics through the creation of an exciting and memorable piece of theatre. In his

²⁷⁹ Hudson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁰ *Lady*, 17 April 1975, Press cutting, Production File for *November Night*, Aldwych Theatre, 1975, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸¹ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

analysis of Nowicki's performance, Marcus argued that 'he embodies the Polish view of their history and destiny',²⁸² and concluded his review suggesting that 'the transmission of national attitudes by such vivid and direct means is not the least achievement of the World Theatre Seasons'.²⁸³ The language of Marcus' review reflected the humanist internationalism of the WTS discourse, which I outlined in Chapter One. For Hobson, the story of the uprising was told 'in a harmoniously organised mixture of naturalism, symbolism, classical mythology, and grand opera'.²⁸⁴ Billington, too, argued that the production represented 'a Polish equivalent of a Wagnerian Gesamtkunstwerk, uniting verse, music, dance, psychological realism and heroic action' and suggested that it was 'one of those World Theatre nights that will burn bright in the memory several years hence'.²⁸⁵ Hobson began his review by describing the Cracow Stary Theatre as 'one of the most interesting foreign companies that we have seen in London' and concluded by highlighting the contemporary resonance of the production,

now it is Shaw and Galsworthy who seem out of date, in a world in which mankind seems to be the prey of dark, unreasoning forces working for evil; the tacit and high-strung invitation to exorcism of Nowicki and Wajda is as contemporary as this week's newspaper.²⁸⁶

Although Hobson did not refer explicitly to Poland's political subordination to Russia, he certainly alluded to the way the production carried the weight of Poland's contemporary political situation. For Marcus, Billington and Hobson, then,

²⁸² Marcus, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁵ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

the production's significance resided in its theatrically exciting and memorable insights into hitherto unfamiliar aspects of Polish history, culture and politics.²⁸⁷

The themes in *November Night* would have been familiar to those audience members already acquainted with Wajda's films. As such, I would suggest that attention to his theatrical output could usefully be read alongside existing analysis of his films, an approach that would enrich our understanding of his work across both art forms. This method would be especially productive in cases where Wajda's engagement with pieces of literature has straddled both theatre and film. A film version of *November Night*, for example, was screened at the NFT in London as part of a Polish Television Season in September 1980, alongside Wajda's *The Birch Wood*. Similarly, Wajda created a film version of *The Possessed* in 1988 called *Les possédés*, starring Isabelle Huppert, and of *Nastasia Filipovna* in 1994, called *Nastazja*, starring the Japanese actor Tamasaburo Bando. Many of Wajda's actors worked with him across both art forms. Nowicki had appeared in Wajda's film *Ashes* before acting in both WTS productions; Pszoniak appeared in Wajda's film of *The Wedding*, as well as in *The Promised Land* (*Ziemia obiecana*, 1974) and *Danton* (1983); and Radziwiłowicz had been the protagonist in *Man of Marble*, which was seen at the LFF in 1978, and *Man of Iron*, for which Wajda won the Palme d'Or in

²⁸⁷ As explored in Chapter One, a significant proportion of the WTS audience for the Cracow Stary Theatre productions were Polish-born Londoners. In 1947, the Polish Resettlement Act offered citizenship to 200,000 Polish soldiers who had been stationed in Britain during the war. As a result, in 1951, the Poles were the second largest immigrant community in the UK after Ireland, numbering 152, 000. For details on non-UK born populations in the UK from 1951 – 2011 please see:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census-analysis/immigration-patterns-and-characteristics-of-non-uk-born-population-groups-in-england-and-wales/non-uk-born-census-populations-1951---2011---full-infographic.html> [accessed 13 April 2016]

Cannes in 1981, the same year that Radziwiłowicz appeared in *Nastasia Filipovna* at the Edinburgh Fringe. This usefully demonstrates that the high points of visibility in Wajda's film career intersected with moments of visibility on UK stages. The WTS played a significant role sustaining UK interest in Wajda's work. O'Donnoghue identifies that '*Innocent Sorcerers* in 1962 was the last Wajda film to gain general distribution in Britain until the delayed release of *Man of Marble* in 1979'.²⁸⁸ Although his work was being screened at the NFT and the LFF in the interim, the WTS played a major role in developing his international profile as a theatre director during this hiatus. O'Donnoghue also suggests that Wajda's productions at the WTS and his production of *Nastasia Filippovna* 'received far wider media coverage and critical acclaim (including feature interviews) than his films ever did'.²⁸⁹ Although O'Donnoghue argues that this highlights a snobbery or hierarchy in the British arts world, where literature is privileged over 'popular' arts such as cinema,²⁹⁰ the hierarchy he identifies is not reflected in scholarship, as previously outlined, nor in the diverse obituaries published in the wake of Wajda's death on 9 October 2016. Of the compelling accounts of Wajda's life achievements published by the *Guardian*, the BBC, *Sight & Sound*,²⁹¹ the *New York Times* and the *Telegraph*, the latter dedicated the largest portion of its obituary to Wajda's stage work, specifically mentioning the WTS's presentation of *The Possessed* in 1972.²⁹² Wajda's

²⁸⁸ O'Donnoghue in Mazierska and Goddard, p. 40

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 41

²⁹¹ In the 1960s and 1970s, the magazine title was *Sight and Sound*. The spelling now features an ampersand

²⁹² Anonymous, 'Andrzej Wajda, acclaimed Polish director whose films explored his country's troubled past', *Telegraph*, 10 October 2016 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/obituaries/2016/10/10/andrzej-wajda-acclaimed-polish-director-whose-films-explored-his/> [accessed 19 December 2017]

prestigious, parallel career in the theatre had only a passing mention in *Sight & Sound*²⁹³ and the *New York Times*²⁹⁴ and was omitted completely from obituaries published by the *Guardian*²⁹⁵ and the BBC.²⁹⁶ Four days after the publication of the obituary, the *Guardian* published a letter written by actor Tom Karol, which remembered Wajda as ‘a creative and imaginative theatre director’.²⁹⁷ Karol described encountering Wajda at the WTS when he applied to be the reader for the simultaneous translation. Although this publication partially rectified the *Guardian*’s initial omission, the letter contained factual errors, suggesting that Wajda came to the WTS in 1970 with a production of Wyspiański’s *The Wedding*, which is not the case. This chapter’s engagement with Wajda has sought to embed the influence of his parallel career as a stage director into histories of the British stage, and to demonstrate that the presence of Wajda’s theatrical output worked in tandem with his films. This combination exposed British audiences to key aspects of Polish history and politics during the Cold War, as well as challenging and changing the outlook of both art forms.

²⁹³ Michael Brooke, ‘Andrzej Wajda obituary: Poland’s Man of Memory’, *Sight & Sound*, 12 October 2016 <http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/comment/obituaries/andrzej-wajda-obituary-poland-man-memory> [accessed 19 December 2017]

²⁹⁴ Michael T. Kaufman, ‘Andrzej Wajda, Towering Auteur of Polish Cinema, Dies at 90’, *New York Times*, 09 October 2016 <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/10/movies/andrzej-wajda-towering-auteur-of-polish-cinema-dies-at-90.html> [accessed 19 December 2017]

²⁹⁵ Ronald Bergan, ‘Andrzej Wajda obituary’, *Guardian*, 10 October 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/oct/10/andrzej-wajda-obituary> [accessed 19 December 2017]

²⁹⁶ Anonymous, ‘Polish film director Andrzej Wajda dies’, BBC, 10 October 2016 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-37603756> [accessed 19 December 2017]

²⁹⁷ Tom Karol, ‘Letter: Andrzej Wajda obituary’, *Guardian*, 14 October 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/oct/14/letter-andrzej-wajda-obituary> [accessed 19 December 2017]

Conclusion

This chapter considers the contribution made by the WTS to developing interest in and engagement with Eastern European theatre practice and practitioners on the British stage. The section on Svoboda's work demonstrated how the WTS gave weight to emerging models of scenography, influencing artistic and working practices in the UK and strengthening international scenographic networks in a fragmented European community. The section on Wajda highlighted the influential role played by the WTS in drawing international attention to Wajda's stage work. Through tracing Wajda's extended presence on British stages and screens, this chapter sought to reclaim Wajda's theatre work from the footnotes of British history and to position his theatre alongside the presence of his films in the UK, in order to demonstrate how a critical understanding of both enriches understandings of Wajda's influence on Anglo-Polish relations, as well as on film and theatre practice in the UK.

Chapter Four: The World Theatre Season and Black British Theatre History: The Negro Ensemble and Natal Theatre Workshop Companies

This chapter extends the focus of this project towards Africa and the US, reflecting the geographical reach of WTS programming and intersecting with important geopolitical events that were taking place at the same time, namely the Civil Rights Movement in the US and Apartheid in South Africa. In so doing, this chapter seeks to challenge the Eurocentric prisms through which the WTS has traditionally been positioned and aims to contribute to recent work undertaken by scholars such as Chambers¹ and Lynette Goddard² to recover black histories on UK stages.³ This period in the UK witnessed the rise of black consciousness and growing resistance to Apartheid. Simultaneously, there was a marked increase in the black presence on the British stage. This is reflected in the NT's Black Plays Archive, which records three instances of black plays being staged in the 1950s, increasing to 10 in the 1960s, and soaring to 49 in the 1970s.⁴ The exponential rise in the presence of black playwrights on the British stage happened concurrently to the WTS and I argue that WTS programming contributed to this increasingly multi-racial theatrical landscape in a variety of productive ways.

¹ Colin Chambers, *Black and Asian Theatre in Britain: A History* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011)

² Lynette Goddard, *Errol John's Moon on a Rainbow Shawl* (London: Routledge, 2017); *Contemporary Black British Playwrights: Margins to Mainstream* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

³ These histories are largely overlooked in existing narratives of the post-War British stage, receiving no mention by Hobson, a passing nod from Billington (Billington 2007, p. 242) and occupying only half a page of text in Shellard's *British Theatre since the War* (pp. 157-58)

⁴ <http://www.blackplaysarchive.org.uk/explore-the-archive/browse> [accessed 8 December 2016]

The WTS invited four companies whose work provided a black presence on the Aldwych stage: The Actors Studio Theatre from the US in 1965; the Negro Ensemble Company from the US in 1969; the Natal Theatre Workshop Company from South Africa in 1972 and 1973; and the Abafumu Company from Uganda in 1975. By showcasing a variety of black theatre companies coming from diverse contexts with distinctive productions, I argue that the WTS expanded both understandings of the expressive possibilities of black theatre and opportunities for black practitioners on the British stage. I will demonstrate this through this chapter's focus on the Negro Ensemble Company (NEC) and their production of *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, and through the Natal Theatre Workshop Company (NTWC, later the Zulu Company) and their production of *uMabatha*. I have chosen these two productions as they speak to issues of race in contrasting ways and their reception by British critics and audiences members was similarly divergent: the former was the most controversial production in WTS history, provoking audience protest, racist outbursts, outraged critical reviews, and lawsuit threats. The latter was one of the most successful productions in WTS history, receiving standing ovations, a subsequent world tour, and a longevity on the British stage that lasted until 2001. Setting the two productions and their receptions side by side reveals much about the dominant attitudes to race in the British press and amongst theatre-going audiences.

My choice of the term 'black' in this study merits unpacking. As Paul Gilroy, Alison Donnell and Chambers note, the label 'black' emerged in Britain in the late 1960s and 1970s as a political signifier of resistance that brought together diverse communities of African, Caribbean and South Asian descent. United by their

colonial and migratory experiences, the diasporic foundation to the term expressed the 'double consciousness'⁵ described by Gilroy, which he sees as marking black experiences of modernity in the West. The companies I am considering reflect this 'double consciousness'. The NTWC and their production of *uMabatha* revealed the tensions between the subject as Zulu South African and as colonial subject, and the NEC overtly addressed their affiliation to a resistant diasporic identity through their production of Peter Weiss' aggressively anti-imperialist play *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*. The NEC's refusal to identify as solely 'American' was also reflected in the fact that the US national anthem was not played before performances, as per traditional WTS format.⁶ Neither company self-identified as black; the NTWC was described as a company of Zulus and the NEC deliberately employed the term 'Negro'. According to Karen Ferguson, in the case of the NEC this was a deliberate attempt to distance the company from Black Power dogma and instead link it back to the roots of the co-founder and artistic director Douglas Turner Ward. This construction reflected Ward's own political and artistic awakening in the post-War black Left.⁷ However, the term 'black' was widely used and recognized in the UK. Many black British activists were taking inspiration from the Black Panther Party and the Black Arts Movement (BAM) in the US. Malcolm X visited the UK in 1965, Stokely Carmichael and Angela Davis visited in 1967, and the Nigerian playwright

⁵ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 1

⁶ Gloria Emerson, 'Negro Ensemble Reviews Its London Audiences', *New York Times*, 13 May 1969, p. 41

⁷ Karen Ferguson, *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 178

Obi Egbuna founded the British Black Panther movement – the first outside the US – in 1968.⁸

Much work has been done by Donnell, Gilroy and bell hooks among others, to destabilise the term 'black' and demonstrate how the concerns of globalisation, class, gender, and religion have created 'segmentation'⁹ within this community. In 2002, Gilroy argued how 'black' was becoming the 'powerfully empty and possibly anachronistic master-signifier'¹⁰ and in 2013 hooks argued that that 'there is no longer a common notion of shared black identity'.¹¹ On the other hand, in 2014 Thomas F. Defrantz argued that the term had stabilised. I would suggest that the term has taken on renewed significance in the face of increasingly overt signs of institutionalised racism in the 2015 US presidential elections and the UK's EU referendum campaign, as well as the results of both, which seemed to legitimise the exclusionist, homogenous understandings of what it means to be 'British' or 'American' that were invoked by both campaigns. The term's resistant potential was highlighted by playwright and director Kwame Kwei-Armah, in an interview with the theatre critic Dominic Cavendish, when he spoke of the contemporary Black Lives Matter movement in the US as 'a second Civil Rights Movement'.¹² In the same interview, Kwei-Armah observed that there has yet to be a black director

⁸ For more information on the influence of the American Black Arts Movement on British theatre see: Michael Pearce, *Tracing Black America in Black British Theatre from the 1970s* (London: National Theatre, 2013)

⁹ Alison Donnell, *Companion to Contemporary Black British Culture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002) p. xiv

¹⁰ Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. xiv

¹¹ bell hooks, *Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 2

¹² <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/kwame-kwei-armah-talks-one-night-miami-2/> [accessed 17 November 2016]

of a British theatre. He has since become the first and will take over as Artistic Director at the Young Vic in February 2018. The term has had recent mainstream visibility in UK arts, culture and media through the BFI's 2016 Black Star Season¹³ and the BBC's 2016 Black and British Season,¹⁴ and continues to receive widespread use in academic discourse.¹⁵ I apply it in this study in part to reflect the terminology in use during the period of study and in part because it is still dominant in mainstream and scholarly discourses about race. Like Chambers, I am acutely aware that as a word it is 'imprecise and fluid and with a homogenizing tendency to essentialism'¹⁶ and by using it I do not wish to elide the vast differences between the work of the companies I am discussing. Through my analysis of the productions and their various contexts, I hope instead to showcase their differences and explore the varying ways in which these companies contributed to an expanded understanding of what 'black' British theatre could be.

The NEC and Afro-American influence

The NEC of New York came to the WTS in 1969 with *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, by Weiss, and *God is a (Guess What?)*, by Ray McIver. They were the second company from the US to appear at the WTS, after the Actors Studio Theatre which came in 1965. The NEC was relatively young in comparison to other WTS invitees, having

¹³ <http://www.bfi.org.uk/black-star> [accessed 13 January 2017]

¹⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/mediapacks/blackandbritish> [accessed 13 January 2017]

¹⁵ Recent publications utilising the term in their titles include Lynette Goddard, *Contemporary Black British Playwrights: Margins to Mainstream* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Rodriguez King-Dorset, *Black British Theatre Pioneers: Yvonne Brewster and the First Generation of Actors, Playwrights and Other Practitioners* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2014); and Michael Pearce, *Tracing Black America in Black British Theatre from the 1970s* (London: National Theatre, 2013)

¹⁶ Chambers 2011, p.5

been founded by playwright Douglas Turner Ward, actor Robert Hooks, and producer Gerald Krone less than two years previously, in September 1967. Their appearance had been greatly anticipated in the UK press because English writer and critic Clive Barnes was working as theatre and dance critic for the *New York Times* and had given the company his seal of approval, writing, 'we could send to London no better troupe. This is a marvellous company'.¹⁷ These words were repeated in advertisements for the 1969 WTS in the *Sunday Telegraph* in the lead up to the company's appearance in London.¹⁸ I have chosen to focus on *Song* because it was the company's opening production, launching its first season at St. Mark's Playhouse on 2 January 1968.¹⁹ As such, it reveals a great deal about the NEC's ambitions as a nascent black company in the heightened ideological context of Civil Rights New York.

In some ways, the NEC's choice of *Song* as its opening production was an expression of the company's ideological divergence from the emerging BAM in New York. The BAM witnessed the resurgence of black theatre groups, which aligned themselves closely to the Black Power movement in their adoption of black nationalist strategies to assist the liberation of the US's black population.²⁰ Many black theatre practitioners active in the mid to late 1960s, such as Amiri Baraka

¹⁷ Box 2, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁸ Production Files for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey* and *God is a (Guess What?)*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁹ The other three productions in the season were a revival of *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*, by white Australian playwright, Ray Lawler, and two new plays, *Kongi's Harvest*, by black Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka, and *Daddy Goodness* by Afro-American playwright Richard Wright

²⁰ Other companies to be founded during this period include the Afro-American Theatre Studio in 1966, the New Lafayette Theatre in 1967, and the National Black Theatre in 1968

(then LeRoi Jones), drew on the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois from the Harlem Renaissance, whose 1926 manifesto for a segregated theatre called for a theatre about, by, for and near black people. The NEC received a conspicuous amount of criticism for choosing *Song*, a play authored by a white person, as its opening production, as well as for pursuing integrationist, rather than separatist working practices. Artistic Director Ward's vision was for a black theatre that did not exclude white people from the company or its repertoire. In 1966, he was invited to write an article for the *New York Times*, outlining his idea for the future of black theatre. This article, entitled 'American Theater – For Whites Only?', was a clarion call for 'the development of a permanent Negro repertory company of at least off-Broadway size and dimension. Not in the future, but now'.²¹ It proved to be the catalyst for the NEC's foundation. Ward imagined a company that would 'be resilient enough to incorporate and interpret the best of world drama – whatever the source' and would welcome white audiences 'if they found inspiration in the purpose'.²² This commitment to integrationist working practices was embodied by the three founding members of the company. Ward and Hooks were black and Krone was white, and the chosen location of St. Mark's Playhouse was in the multiracial East Village, Manhattan, rather than within a predominantly black community like Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant. Probably the most controversial indicator of the NEC's integrationist practice was its acceptance of funding from the 'white' Ford Foundation. After the publication of Ward's article, the triumvirate was

²¹ Douglas Turner-Ward, 'American Theater – For Whites Only?', *New York Times*, 14 August 1966. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

²² Ibid.

invited by McNeil Lowry, Cultural Chief of the Ford Foundation, to submit a proposal for such a theatre in November 1966. The following May the Foundation pledged \$434,000 to launch the NEC and a further \$750,000 in 1968 for two additional years of support. This financial dependence on a white Foundation was criticized by writers active in the BAM, who sought to emancipate black cultural expression from white influence and patronage.

Whilst its institutional framework undoubtedly marked the NEC out as less openly revolutionary than its BAM counterparts, the 'raw theatrical event' of *Song* represented an expression of radical commitment to black autonomy. Ward responded to his critics by arguing that the play's 'relevance to blackness lies in its scathing indictment of colonialism, an issue of paramount concern to black people all over the world'.²³ Weiss's contentiously topical play is a damning indictment of Portuguese imperialism in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, and the NEC production addressed this topic at a time when the Portuguese Colonial War (1961–1974) was still ongoing. The play's structure is episodic, presenting fragments of colonial experience. It loosely follows a historical narrative, from the arrival of Diogo Cão from Portugal in the fifteenth century to the beginning of the Angolan War of Independence on 15 March 1961. The actors interchangeably represented a diverse canvas of characters, including Diogo Cão, two maids named Joana and Anna, archbishops and bishops, the Minister of Justice, a banker, policemen, workers, colonizers and the colonised. Described by Benedict

²³ Douglas Turner-Ward, 'Being Criticised was to be Expected', *New York Times*, 01 September 1968. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

Nightingale as a 'protest documentary',²⁴ the play aligned facts about forced labour and starvation wages with the names of the international companies with a stake in colonial Africa, such as De Beers, Royal Dutch Shell, Krupp, Bethlehem Steel and Westminster Bank. Benedict Nightingale wrote that 'the cast sings out the names of the guilty European and American companies' and indeed, as the title of the play suggests, much of the text is intended to be sung. The accompanying jazz score, composed for the NEC production by Coleridge Taylor-Perkinson, drew influence from the German political cabaret of the 1920s and the songs of Brecht and Weill. Playwright Ian Brown recalls how the interspersed action of the songs was the aspect of the production that stuck with him, describing them as 'enormously powerful'.²⁵

By giving body and voice to the language of Weiss' political theatre with a black cast, the NEC's production of *Song* strongly resonated with contemporary societal and theatrical discourses about change. In the hands of the NEC, the play's depiction of the struggle of the colonized in Africa was aligned with the Civil Rights movement in the US, becoming a diasporic gesture of the struggle to end global white supremacy. In *Understanding Peter Weiss*, Robert Cohen argues that there is an implicit threat in Weiss' use of the ancient Latin name for Portugal, Lusitania, as it serves as a reminder that Portugal, too, was once subject to an imperialist power — the Roman Empire — and thus embeds the dialectics of history in the title of the

²⁴ Benedict Nightingale, 'Black Megaphone', *New Statesman*, 16 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

²⁵ Ian Brown, Interview with Author, 18 December 2015

play. Cohen suggests that this provides a 'thread of hope that runs through this dramatization of the Angolan struggle for independence'.²⁶ The NEC production transformed this thread of hope into an embodied metaphor for a new structure of power, both theatrically and geopolitically.

The director Michael A. Schultz combined Weiss' aggressively anti-colonial and denunciatory text with an aesthetic of confrontation that delivered a direct challenge to the audience. The production was an ensemble piece and represented Schultz's New York directorial debut,²⁷ winning him the 1968 Obie Award for Best Director. He worked with the thirteen members²⁸ of the NEC's resident company, all of whom performed in London, although six members of the ensemble appeared on alternate nights so that the number on stage was always ten. In an information pack about the company, Schultz described his commitment to theatre as a place of confrontation, suggesting that it is,

an architectural framework in which artist and audience may carry on a direct and immediate dialogue, growing together toward an understanding which emerges from conflict and change.²⁹

This found expression in the cast's regular use of direct address within the heightened atmosphere of the production. Hobson drew out a scene in his *Sunday Times* review, in which 'most actors lie on their bellies and, in an impressive

²⁶ Robert Cohen, *Understanding Peter Weiss* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), p. 101

²⁷ Anonymous, 'Company's Professional Group', *New York Amsterdam News*, 02 December 1967. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

²⁸ Samuel Blue, Jr, Graham Brown, Norman Bush, Rosalind Cash, David Downing, Judyann Elder, Arthur French, William Jay, Esther Rolle, Clarice Taylor, Mari Toussaint, Hattie Winston, Allie Woods

²⁹ Box 2, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

moment of silence, gaze with malevolence at the audience'.³⁰ A similar moment was remarked upon in a US review written by Richard Watts Jr. in the *New York Post*, where he argued that 'one of the production's most effective ideas is to show the Africans smiling falsely at the audience and then changing suddenly and grimly to looks of hatred'.³¹ These moments of direct address showed the company using the relationship between stage and auditorium to confront the audience with their presence, forcing them to take a position in relation to what is being expressed on stage.

This uneasy sense of confrontation was also communicated by the set design, which consisted of a single element: the eponymous Bogey. Designer Ed Burbridge³² explained how his ideas 'grew out of reading the text of the play'³³ [see Figure 20].

The Bogey was described by Weiss in the following terms,

It should be larger than life, and menacing. It may be constructed of scrap iron. Over the face, a flap, which may be lifted from the back. In the opening appears the face of the player who assumes the speeches of the Bogey at a given moment. The flap must be made to drop shut with a crash. The construction of the Bogey must be such that the figure may fall over on hinges at the play's end.³⁴

Standing a considerable height above the actors, Burbridge's Bogey dominated the stage. It was made almost entirely from metal and combined a variety of 'found objects'. Those objects were welded together and included the spokes of an old

³⁰ Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³¹ Richard Watts Jr., 'The Swan Song of Colonialism', *New York Post*, 03 January 1968. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

³² Burbridge was familiar with Weiss' work, having previously designed his *Marat/Sade* on Broadway

³³ Box 2, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

³⁴ Peter Weiss, *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 3

wheelbarrow, a mudguard, a breadbox for the head and a system of aluminium ladders, which the actors could use to clamber up and down. It was described variously by London critics as ‘a cluttered mound of casual metal with a robot’s head and a visor’,³⁵ ‘a trash heap of discharged machinery and old iron’,³⁶ ‘a scrap-heap monster representing the white oppressor’,³⁷ and ‘a ramshackle bastille of ladders and cycle wheels’.³⁸ In production information sent to the WTS in advance of the NEC’s appearance, Burbridge described how it was ‘designed to look heavy’³⁹ [emphasis in the original], but that it was made from aluminium so that it was light for the actors to work with. During the production, attention was drawn to the figure of the Bogey through forms of actor interaction. The actors periodically gave voice to the Bogey by opening ‘its jagged, tin-can mouth’.⁴⁰ When they were representing the colonizers, they worshipped it;⁴¹ when they were representing the colonized they circled it while listing life’s miseries under colonial rule.⁴² The production ended on a note of destructive triumph, when the actors tore the Bogey

³⁵ Eric Shorter, ‘Anger over Angola is Negro play theme’, *Daily Telegraph*, 06 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁶ Harold Hobson, ‘Hatred is in the air’, *Sunday Times*, 11 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁷ Irving Wardle, ‘Message of Clarity’, *The Times*, 06 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁸ Philip Hope-Wallace, ‘Lusitanian Bogey’, *Guardian*, 06 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

³⁹ Box 2, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

⁴⁰ Clive Barnes, ‘Theater: ‘Lusitanian Bogey’ Opens’, *New York Times*, 03 January 1968. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

⁴¹ *American Masters: The Negro Ensemble Company*, 14 September 1987, dir. Richard Kilberg

⁴² Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

down in what Hope-Wallace described as ‘a gleeful climax’.⁴³ This concluding act of destruction ended the production on a violent metaphor, announcing the emergence of a new power structure.

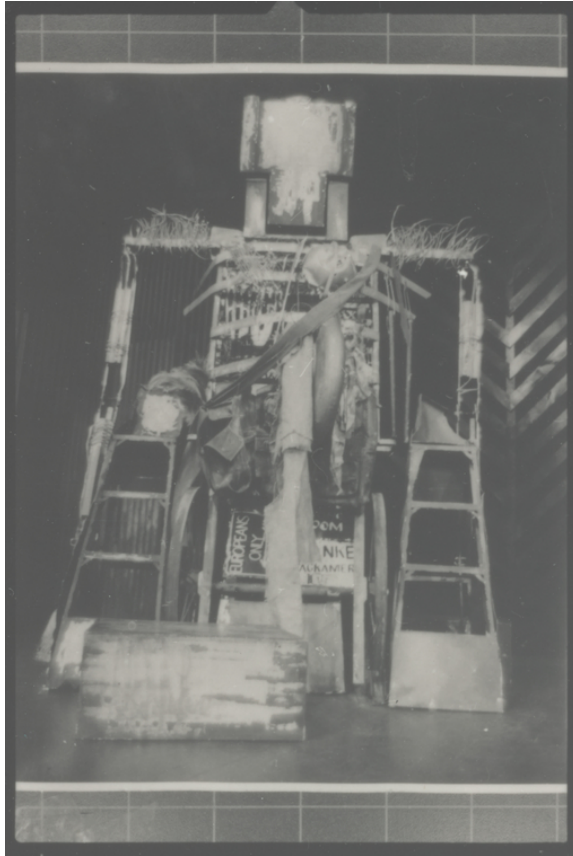


Figure 20: The Bogey, *Song of the Lusitanian Bogey*, 1969. Photograph by Bert Andrews.

The production proved a forceful challenge to British anxieties about racial conflict and a disintegrating empire, provoking extreme responses from both established critics and WTS audiences. Britain had undergone a rapid period of decolonisation since Prime Minister Harold Wilson delivered his famous ‘Wind of Change’ speech in South Africa in 1960, and by 1968 had relinquished control over all former

⁴³ Hope-Wallace, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

colonies in Africa except Southern Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe). It had also surrendered territories in the Caribbean and South America, including Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962 and Barbados and Guyana in 1966. By 1968, Enoch Powell and his associates were campaigning for tighter immigration controls in response to the entry of people to Britain from Kenya and Uganda, where they fled discrimination from their national governments. Powell's infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech on 20 April 1968, delivered only 16 days after the assassination of Martin Luther King in Memphis, Tennessee, made reference to the Civil Rights Movement in the US. Powell argued that the growing community of immigrants in Britain would eventually 'exercise actual domination, first over fellow-immigrants and then over the rest of the population' and that the situation in the UK would be 'of American proportions long before the end of the century'.⁴⁴ He was successful in his campaign and the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act extended the immigration controls established by the first act in 1962.⁴⁵ Anxieties about racial conflict were being played out at the heart of British politics and the NEC's production proved to be a topical attack on colonialism, neo-colonialism and global racism, striking a chord in the heightened political context of Britain in 1969.

Critical reception in the UK generally engaged with the production's challenges by addressing their criticisms to the play rather than to the production. Many critics made a crude distinction between the work of the director and cast, which was mostly praised, and Weiss' play, which was heavily criticised. In the *Spectator*

⁴⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rivers_of_Blood_speech [accessed 15 December 2016]

⁴⁵ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/commonwealth-immigration-control-legislation.htm> [accessed 15 December 2016]

Spurling described the play as ‘unconscionably trite’ and went on to suggest that this was ‘a fault of the playwright, not the company’.⁴⁶ In *The Times*, Wardle argued that the experience of seeing the play left him with ‘a dwindling regard for Peter Weiss and increased admiration for the troupe’.⁴⁷ In the *New Statesman*, Nightingale wished that the company’s ‘virtues had greater sustenance than Weiss’ strained charade’.⁴⁸ Schulman’s review in the *Evening Standard* was a sustained criticism of the play, which made no mention of the particulars of the production and referred to the company only once.⁴⁹ I would suggest that the critics directed their criticisms at Weiss so as not to appear to be challenging a visiting black company on sensitive issues of race. However, by separating the play from the production in their analysis, the critics refused to engage with the fact that the company *chose* Weiss’s play and the reasons why they did so. This is demonstrated by Shorter, who wrote that he would have preferred a production that communicated ‘the Negro’s point of view, instead of Mr. Weiss’s orthodox liberal notions’.⁵⁰ By displacing responsibility from the company onto Weiss, the critics denied the company any authorship over the content of the production and made a problematic distinction between politics and aesthetics. Spurling suggested that the company compensated for the play ‘with some singularly pleasing patterns of

⁴⁶ Hilary Spurling, ‘Come Again’, *The Spectator*, 16 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁷ Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁸ Nightingale, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁴⁹ Milton Schulman, ‘Protesting too much’, *Evening Standard*, 06 May 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁰ Shorter, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

movement and a soothing jazz accompaniment'⁵¹ and Wardle writes that, 'liberalism apart, they qualify as a company in the world theatre class', praising them for their 'physical discipline' and 'ensemble coordination'.⁵² By separating play from production, the critics circumvented the production's central challenge presented by the combined force of Weiss's play and Schultz's aesthetic of confrontation.

Nightingale took the distinction between politics and aesthetics a step further by denying that the piece had any aesthetic value at all. He opened his review with the argument that the production 'demands to be celebrated as an event rather than reviewed in a theatre column'⁵³ and used this opening statement as an excuse to absolve himself of critical responsibility for what was presented on stage. He wrote that 'it's what's said, where and how combatively, that matters, not any aesthetic value in the saying' and that 'the enterprise asks to be judged only by its socio-political effects: its success in increasing black dignity, black solidarity'.⁵⁴ The most problematic aspect of Nightingale's response is that he also absolves himself of social responsibility. He positions himself as 'an intruder' and claims that 'it's to blacks, particularly the urban working-class black, that this company essentially addresses itself'. He ties himself in knots through his insistence on separating black from white in his review. He positions Weiss' play as a 'hole in the blackness', rather than appreciating that the production's central challenge to colonialism and

⁵¹ Spurling, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵² Wardle, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵³ Nightingale, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁴ Ibid.

racism implicated both black and white people and that the company had an integrationist policy at the heart of its working practices.

A significant number of reviewers maintained a distinct critical distance between themselves and the NEC, either by displacing responsibility from the company onto Weiss, or by positioning themselves as outsiders who are not qualified to pass comment. Several reviews, however, dispensed with rhetorical tricks and were openly condemnatory of the production. In his intensely rhetorical review for the *Evening Standard*, Shulman argued that the production represented a personal attack on him and his values. He reduced the play to two rhetorical questions, writing, 'Who is to blame for these atrocities? Why, the West, of course. And what is the West? Why, the white man and the capitalist, of course!'.⁵⁵ He also complained that 'our poor Westminster bank' had been brought into the picture. Shulman drew on the wider geopolitical context of the Cold War, arguing that, 'undoubtedly for uninformed blacks in Harlem this kind of simplistic, anti-colonial propaganda, which the Communists have been dishing out for decades, may have some validity'.⁵⁶ Not only does this betray a condescending attitude towards the company and the black community in New York, but also shows Shulman deliberately positioning the company as his enemy within the wider geopolitical context. Hobson's review for the *Sunday Times* expressed similar outrage. Describing the piece as a 'sorry exhibition', Hobson criticised the play for being 'an excoriation without qualifying clauses, not only of the Portuguese in Angola but of

⁵⁵ Shulman, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁶ Ibid.

all Europe', and argued that the production attempted to manipulate him into scorning himself, by implicitly inviting him to treat 'defences of religion and the family... with contempt'.⁵⁷ Such was the extent of Hobson's feeling of besiegement, that he questioned 'whether the literature of this company could not be seen by some as a direct stimulus to racial hatred'.⁵⁸ Shulman and Hobson's adversarial reviews questioned the play's factual basis and the production's aesthetic value, and both critics positioned themselves as the victim of the company's onslaught. In doing so, they gave the impression of engaging with the production's concerns head on. Conversely, I would argue that they sidestepped the production's central challenge by issuing their own.

The anxieties expressed in Shulman and Hobson's reviews also found expression in audience responses to the production. Near the end of the run, some protestors in the audience disrupted Rosalind Cash's performance of a protest song. This moment has been memorialised in the history of the company by a documentary broadcast in the US on 14 September 1987 as part of the *American Masters* series. Schultz recounts how a group of protestors in the balcony began shouting 'Yankees go home' and Burbridge recalls that, when the actors' left the theatre after the show, 'somebody had scrawled 'Niggers Go Home' on the wall'.⁵⁹ Daubeney also recalls this moment in his autobiography, detailing that the protestors threw anti-black, pro-Rhodesia and pro-Portuguese leaflets down from the balcony.⁶⁰ He

⁵⁷ Hobson, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ *American Masters: The Negro Ensemble Company*, 14 September 1987, dir. Richard Kilberg

⁶⁰ Daubeney 1971, p. 334

relates the incident back to his experiences of racially motivated heckling during the Actors Studio Theatre's production of James Baldwin's *Blues for Mister Charlie* at the WTS in 1965⁶¹ and during Jack Gelber's *The Connection*, which Daubeney brought to the Duke of York's Theatre in February 1961.⁶² Susan Watson Turner⁶³ detailed that disruptions frequently occurred during NEC performances and that there was a sense within the company that, 'if they [the audience] didn't heckle the show, then we didn't do our job. The idea was to reveal something that people didn't want to deal with'.⁶⁴ An article in the *New York Times*, entitled 'Negro Ensemble Reviews Its London Audience',⁶⁵ nevertheless revealed the company's surprise at British critical and audience response. The article reproduced a quotation from Shulman's review and interviewed two of the actresses, Clarice Taylor and Frances Foster, about their impression of London audiences. Taylor was quoted as saying, 'I felt a lot of resentment' and Foster reflected that 'London audiences, nearly all white, might be more vulnerable to this play because of their own country's colonial history in Africa'. There was enough impetus behind accusations against the company for the production to be discussed in Parliament. In July 1969 *The Times* reported that Mr. Patrick Wall, then Conservative MP for Haltemprice, asked in the House of Commons for the show to be referred for prosecution 'for incitement to racial hatred against the white people of Britain under the Race Relations Act and for displaying insulting representations in public

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 324

⁶² Ibid., p. 317

⁶³ Susan Watson Turner joined the NEC as an intern in 1980 and went on to work for the company as General Manager and Producing Director

⁶⁴ Susan Watson Turner, Interview with Author, 05 May 2016

⁶⁵ Emerson 1969, p. 41

likely to cause a breach of the peace under the Public Order Act'.⁶⁶ An official from the Aldwych Theatre was reported to have said, 'In no way could it be described as racist', and four days later the Director of Public Prosecutions confirmed that there would be no prosecution as 'neither he nor the Metropolitan Police have received any other complaint about the play, that the play was no longer being performed in this country, and that the cast had returned to America'.⁶⁷ The fact that the production was discussed in Parliament reflects the tension around issues of racial politics in the UK at the time. This is equally manifest in responses both by critics and audiences, which reveal how attitudes to race in late 1960s Britain were bound up in the end of Empire, fear of immigration and the politics of the Cold War.

The NEC's Legacy on the British Stage

In this section, I will turn to consideration of the legacy of this controversial production. First, I demonstrate how the powerful pairing of the black cause with the emerging language of political theatre in *Song* influenced the writing of Scottish playwright Ian Brown. Second, I argue that the company provided both an impetus and a model for black British companies, such as the Drum Art Centre and the Black Theatre Cooperative. Finally, I establish the company's longevity on the British stage, reflecting on their return visits to Edinburgh and London.

⁶⁶ By a staff reporter, 'Negro show referred to prosecutor', *The Times*, 01 July 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁶⁷ By a staff reporter, 'No prosecution over the play', *The Times*, 05 July 1969. Press cutting, Production File for *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey*, Aldwych Theatre, 1969, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

The NEC's production of *Song* contributed to the development of politically radical and formally innovative playwriting in the UK and was afforded specific resonance through the institutional framework of the WTS. Before the NEC's visit, the RSC at the Aldwych had hosted the UK premieres of the *Marat/Sade*⁶⁸ and *The Investigation*,⁶⁹ both directed by Peter Brook, which established Weiss as a divisive figure on the British stage. The company had attracted particular publicity around the *Marat/Sade*, which was at the heart of the 'Dirty Plays' controversy: a feud between impresario Emile Littler and Peter Hall about the moral standards of plays in the RSC's Theatre of Cruelty Season. By programming a third Weiss premiere on the same stage only a couple of years after the scandal, Daubeny brought the NEC's *Song* into dialogue with the RSC's wider programme of experimentation. Although it is difficult to find evidence for how conscious this was in terms of programming, Chambers has suggested that, from his perspective as a regular WTS and RSC audience member, 'it was all very much interacting'.⁷⁰ Similarly, Brown noted that it was significant for him to see this kind of radical experimentation at the RSC 'on a much bigger, institutional scale' and that it was being 'artistically validated by Peter Daubeny'.⁷¹ Alongside the work Brown had seen by La Mama in Edinburgh, he cited the combination of radical politics and formal innovation in the NEC's *Song* as a key influence on his own writing, particularly on his play *Carnegie* that he was writing the summer he saw *Song*. *Carnegie* is a play about Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), a Scottish-born American industrialist, who led the expansion of the steel industry in

⁶⁸ Aldwych Theatre, 20 August 1964

⁶⁹ Aldwych Theatre, 19 October 1965

⁷⁰ Colin Chambers, Interview with Author, 06 March 2015

⁷¹ Ian Brown, Interview with Author, 18 December 2015

the US in the late nineteenth century. He is often identified as one of the richest people to have ever lived and he built up a leadership role as a philanthropist in the US and the British Empire in the final eighteen years of his life. Brown drew on the life of Carnegie to write a play 'exploring this idea of the philanthropist actually being a robber baron capitalist'.⁷² Brown describes how in his head 'there is a very clear link' between seeing *Song* at the WTS and the new language that he began to develop in *Carnegie*. Recalling his response to *Song*, Brown said, 'I learned a lot about what I might be able to do in some of my own work which was more radical' and that it made him think 'about dramatic structure'. He compares it to an earlier play he wrote about Mary Queen of Scots, which was in verse and was 'very Romantic'. By contrast, *Carnegie* was politically engaged and employed techniques to deconstruct societal ideas of the benevolent philanthropist. The play premiered at the Royal Lyceum in Edinburgh in association with the Prospect Theatre Company on 19 April 1973.⁷³ This example demonstrates that the NEC's production of *Song* resonated with the societal and theatrical discourse about change within the institutional framework of the RSC and fed directly into the development of a new language in British playwriting. Further, it positions the NEC within wider narratives of influence from the US in the 1960s, alongside more familiar names such as La Mama, The Performance Group, and the Living Theatre.

The NEC's appearance at the WTS also played a significant and undervalued role in broader narratives of Afro-American influence on black British theatre history.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Production File for *Carnegie*, Edinburgh Royal Lyceum, 1973, V&A Theatre and Performance Department

There is much evidence to suggest that the NEC provided an impetus and a model for early pioneers of black British theatrical expression. The number of black identity theatre companies grew exponentially after the NEC's visit. 1971 saw the founding of the Keskidee Art Centre, the Dark and Light Theatre Company, and the Foco Novo Theatre Company. In 1972 Temba Theatre was founded, in 1974 the Drum Arts Centre, and in 1976 the Arts Council commissioned the first study of minority arts, called *The Art Britain Ignores*. The Drum Art Centre was set up by Cy Grant and John Mapondera with the aim of establishing a national centre for the arts of black people and was deeply influenced by the NEC. In 1976, the Centre invited the NEC's writer and director, Steve Carter, to lead a summer workshop at Morley College, Lambeth. Attended by more than 70 participants, the workshop was opened by the Jamaican High Commissioner and covered theatre production, writing, direction and stage management. It resulted in the production of *Bread*, by Mustapha Matura at the Young Vic, and precipitated workshops with black actors at the NT for the following two years.⁷⁴ In turn, Matura cited the NEC as his inspiration for founding Black Theatre Cooperative in 1979.⁷⁵ He was emboldened by the success of the NEC in New York, and perhaps by his encounter with Carter, to try something similar in London. In an interview, Matura reflected that he took inspiration from the NEC's ability to maintain autonomy while not excluding white audiences,

⁷⁴ Chambers 2011, p. 152

⁷⁵ K. Owusu, *Black British Culture and Society: A Text Reader* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 161

if Black people created their own company, first, white people would want a piece of it and, second it would make the Black acting community and theatre more self-sufficient.⁷⁶

As well as taking inspiration from the NEC in terms of working practices, the Black Theatre Cooperative's repertoire was also influenced by the NEC. In 1983, it staged Carter's *Nevis Mountain Dew*⁷⁷ at the Arts Theatre as part of the Black Theatre Forum's first annual Black Theatre Season. Chambers argues that this production has a significant place in the history of black theatre on the British stage because it took place at the Arts Theatre, which was 'within the mainstream and boasted a profile with which most current black and Asian theatre had not been associated before'.⁷⁸ The Black Theatre Cooperative, renamed Nitro in 1997, is still active and is Britain's longest running black theatre company. These examples demonstrate the NEC contributing to the working practices and repertoires of early black British identity companies.

The NEC was also invited to return to stages in Edinburgh and London, which demonstrates a sustained interest in its work and showcases the WTS's influence on international programming in the UK more broadly. In 1984, his first year as Festival director, Dunlop invited the NEC to present *A Soldier's Play* at the EIF. The programme contained a production photo of *Song*, making a direct genealogical link between the company's appearance at the EIF and their initial UK appearance at the WTS 15 years previously. This initial gesture towards the WTS in his new role

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 161

⁷⁷ This play had first been first produced by the NEC at St. Mark's Playhouse on 07 December 1978

⁷⁸ Chambers 2011, p. 185

demonstrates Dunlop's commitment to celebrating WTS influence on him as a director, which would reach its peak in his WTS tribute at the EIF in 1986. This link back to the WTS is also drawn by Billington and Wardle in their reviews,⁷⁹ further embedding WTS influence in the critical discourse surrounding the production. *A Soldier's Play*, written by Charles Fuller, won the Pulitzer Prize for Drama in 1982. Set in the US Army's Fort Neal in Louisiana in 1944, a time when the US army was still segregated, the play begins with the murder of a black Technical Sergeant, Vernon Waters. A black army officer, Captain Richard Davenport, is brought in to investigate the case. As the murder mystery unfolds, Davenport discovers that the sergeant was not killed by the local Ku Klux Klan, nor by bigoted white soldiers, but by one of his own men. It transpires that the Sergeant was hated because he 'earnestly believed that the path to black progress lay through the adoption of white styles and attitudes' and persecuted certain black soldiers under his charge for their 'perpetuation of black stereotypes'.⁸⁰ In their reviews of the production Billington and Coveney criticised the play's whodunnit format as 'old-fashioned'. On the other hand, Billington went into detail about the 'rich' exploration of 'big issues'⁸¹ and Wardle equally described the numerous nuanced expressions of racial conflict, concluding that they are 'beautifully articulated in Mr. Ward's production'.⁸² Billington, Wardle and Coveney praised the company in

⁷⁹ Press Cuttings, Production File for *A Soldier's Play*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1984, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁰ Michael Billington, 'A Soldier's Play', *Guardian*, 30 August 1984. Production File for *A Soldier's Play*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1984, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Irving Wardle, 'A Soldier's Play', *The Times*, 30 August 1984. Production File for *A Soldier's Play*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1984, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

performance. Wardle described Ward in the role of Waters as a performance ‘of Robesonian power and eloquence’,⁸³ Coveney described ‘the strength and conviction of the acting’,⁸⁴ and Billington picked out ‘excellent performances’.⁸⁵ The Oscar-nominated film adaptation, called *A Soldier’s Story*, was released in the UK in 1985 and coincided with the company’s second return visit.

The NEC returned to the London stage as part of an American Festival in 1985 with a production of *Home* by Samm-Art Williams, performed at the Shaw Theatre between 28 May and 15 June. The press release described the NEC’s contribution as ‘the theatrical highspot of the American Festival’ and noted that ‘the company were last seen in London sixteen years ago when they presented their very first production as part of the 1969 World Theatre Festival’.⁸⁶ The production was reviewed in the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Financial Times*, the *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Guardian*, as well as receiving extensive coverage in *The Voice*, the black national weekly, which was founded in 1982. *The Voice* reviewed the production and published an interview with Williams, which concluded, ‘It seems that the Negro Ensemble Company can give the black theatre in Britain many lessons as it struggles to find an identity’.⁸⁷ Coveney made a similar observation in his review of their appearance at the EIF, writing that the NEC,

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Michael Coveney, ‘A Soldier’s Play/Edinburgh’, *Financial Times*, 30 August 1984. Production File for *A Soldier’s Play*, Edinburgh International Festival, 1984, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁵ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁶ Box 47, Folder 26, Negro Ensemble Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

⁸⁷ Box 58, Folder 24, Negro Ensemble Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

must serve as an example to our own tentative, emergent black companies. If, for instance, the Round House is to have any credibility as a black arts centre, this will be the kind of quality of work which must materialise.⁸⁸

Coveney is alluding to the brief period from 1983 during which there were attempts to establish a Black Arts Centre at the Roundhouse in Camden.⁸⁹ As an institution, the Roundhouse was invested in developing and maintaining a strong relationship with the NEC, and hosted a reception for the company on 13 June 1985, inviting over 60 black British practitioners and theatre companies.⁹⁰ In a letter from Christina Coker of the Roundhouse to Stephanie Hughley of the NEC, Coker enclosed a list of all the black theatre companies and practitioners who were present at the reception and expressed hope that 'the reception marks the beginning of a firm and fruitful relationship between the Roundhouse and the Negro Ensemble Company'.⁹¹ These high-profile return visits to Edinburgh and London received much attention from the press and the British theatre industry, demonstrating a continued investment in the NEC as a model for black British theatre.

To conclude, I would argue that the NEC's production of *Song* at the 1969 WTS created waves that continued to be felt decades after the company's first appearance on the British stage. The production spoke to issues of racial politics at a particularly sensitive time, sparking controversy that enraged and inspired in equal measure. Appearing as the third premiere of a Weiss play on the Aldwych

⁸⁸ Coveney, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁸⁹ For more information see Chambers 2011, pp. 182-84

⁹⁰ Box 47, Folder 26, Negro Ensemble Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

⁹¹ Letter from Christina Coker to Stephanie Hughley, 14 June 1985. Box 47, Folder 26, Negro Ensemble Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

stage, *Song* firmly embedded the NEC and the WTS within the wider framework of RSC programming and spoke to the RSC's engagement with theatrical experimentation and radical action. It was the first time such a prominent platform had been afforded to a black identity company on the British stage. The NEC subsequently became a model for early examples of black British identity companies, such as the Drum Arts Centre and the Black Theatre Cooperative, contributing to their working practices and their repertoires. The longevity of the NEC's influence is represented by its return visits to Edinburgh and London, which demonstrates the British theatre's debt to the WTS in terms of international programming.

I will now turn to consideration of the production *uMabatha*, which came from South Africa with the NTWC and opened the WTS in 1972. Where the NEC's *Song* was an attack on colonialism and neo-colonialism, *uMabatha* was in many ways a direct product of these contexts, and the production's popular appeal and ambiguous legacy speak to different but related histories of black theatre on the British stage.

***uMabatha* from South Africa**

uMabatha is a play by Welcome Msomi that draws parallels between Zulu history and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. At the 1972 WTS it was performed by a company of 55 Zulus, who were heralded in the production programme as 'the first Zulu company to be seen outside South Africa'.⁹² *uMabatha* proved to be one of the most popular

⁹² Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

productions in WTS history. In an article for *The Incorporated Linguist*, Daubeney compared *uMabatha*'s success, both critically and commercially, with the Noh theatre of Japan, writing that 'both in turn broke all Box Office records at the Aldwych (in and out of Season) and for both we saw longer queues than we had ever seen before'.⁹³ It received standing ovations, was invited back for the tenth anniversary Season in 1973, secured a subsequent world tour, and had a presence on UK stages until as late as 2001. In the following section I provide a production analysis of *uMabatha*, which is informed by Britain's colonialist past in South Africa, particularly in the context of Apartheid. I argue that the production was fraught with issues around cultural imperialism and colonialization and will draw on key critical texts about theatre and interculturalism to help me unpick what is at stake in a production that brings together a creative team of white and black South Africans during Apartheid and seeks to draw parallels between Zulu history and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. I draw on Carlson's seven-step model for the gradations of intercultural performance in order to analyse the relationship between the Shakespeare text and Msomi's play in performance and am particularly indebted to Balme's analysis in *Decolonising the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-Colonial Drama*, which provides methods for exploring the relationship between Western colonial theatrical models and indigenous performance culture.

In this first section I explore the material conditions of production and argue that they were shaped by the governing system of Apartheid, which enforced racial

⁹³ Box 27, Folder 6, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

segregation and white minority rule. I investigate the extent to which the production's institutional framework and the power dynamics of the artistic partnership between the white and black South Africans shaped the form and content of the production. When *uMabatha* first came to the WTS in 1972, it came under the auspices of the NTWC, which was run from the 'white designated' University of Natal by Professor Elizabeth Sneddon. Sneddon was Head of the Department of Speech and Drama and worked closely with her colleague Pieter Scholtz, who was lecturer in the department and director of *uMabatha*. The playwright and lead performer, Msomi, and the cast of actors were Zulu. The project was firmly positioned within the institutional context of the University of Natal, to which black students could only gain admittance if they had written confirmation from the Minister of the Interior. Indeed, as Mervin McMurtry notes, the playwright Msomi had intended to enrol but, when faced with this obstacle, took up a full time job as a market researcher for a pharmaceutical company and pursued his theatre interests alongside that position, founding the Black Theatre Company in Durban in 1965.⁹⁴ Within this institutional context, the NTWC presented itself as including 'as part of its policy the promotion and fostering of indigenous drama'.⁹⁵ Prior to *uMabatha*, the company had presented Msomi's *Qondeni (Understand Ye)*⁹⁶ at the University's Howard College Theatre, which addressed violence in the townships. It had also produced the work of other

⁹⁴ Mervin McMurtry, 'Doing their own Thane: The Critical Reception of Umabatha, Welcome Msomi's Zulu Macbeth', *Ilha do Desterro*, 36 (1999), 309-35 (p. 311)

⁹⁵ Souvenir programme, THM/85/2/3, Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹⁶ Translation in H. C. Groenewald, 'A Little Space in History – Some Historical Perspectives on Zulu Theatre', *South African Theatre Journal*, 16 (2002), 30-43

contemporary South African playwrights, including Douglas Livingstone, Athol Fugard, James Ambrose Brown, and Chris Bernard. Although the company collaborated with Msomi on his work, the educational framework of the institution was used to position *uMabatha* as a research project led by Sneddon and Scholtz. The souvenir programme, produced by the company for distribution at the WTS, explained that the genesis of the idea came from Sneddon, who commissioned Msomi to realise her longstanding conviction of 'the dramatic possibilities inherent in Zulu history' and her belief that '*Macbeth*, which deals essentially with rough warriors, ruthless chieftains and their power struggles, would be an exciting basis for a play interpreted in terms of the tribal experience of the Zulu people'.⁹⁷ When trying to secure support for the production's tour to the WTS, Sneddon wrote to J. J. Fouché,⁹⁸ describing the production as 'a research project in the development of indigenous drama in Natal'.⁹⁹ This research framework was further foregrounded by the fact that the production premiered at an international conference on 'Communication in Action' at the University Open-Air Theatre in 1970. *uMabatha* was thus concretely embedded and framed within the 'research' of a white institution with white agents at the fore, rather than presented as an equal collaboration, or as an act of creative autonomy by a Zulu playwright. This power imbalance uncomfortably positioned the Zulus as the 'objects' of the white

⁹⁷ Souvenir programme, THM/85/2/3, Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁹⁸ Jacobus Johannes Fouché (1898-1980) served as the second State President of South Africa from 1968 to 1975

⁹⁹ Letter from Elizabeth Sneddon to J. J. Fouché, 15 December 1970. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

researcher's gaze, which would seem to make very fragile the possibility of something creative and culturally productive to emerge.

Despite the 'white' institutional framework, the NTWC and the WTS both worked to assert the particular Zulu character of the production on its visit to London. The motivation for the NTWC seems to be a concern that the production not be 'construed as sentimental or propagandist'. Scholtz wrote this in a letter to Daubeny on 17 September 1970, in which he also downplayed both his and Sneddon's creative input and the significance of Shakespeare. He stated that 'the play is based on Shakespeare's Macbeth but it is a broad adaptation in Zulu in which the themes and the action have been transposed into a tribal or ritual context'.¹⁰⁰ This emphasis on the 'tribal or ritual context' suggests that Scholtz was trying to present the production to Daubeny as 'authentically Zulu', rather than derivative of Western cultural forms. He was also careful to credit Msomi as the playwright, beginning his letter, 'I should like to draw your attention to the work of a Zulu dramatist, Welcome Msomi...'.¹⁰¹ He continues emphasizing Msomi's creative input, saying 'the music and songs have been composed by the dramatist himself, and are traditional in character'. By asserting Zulu creative input and autonomy, Scholtz's narrative attempts to demonstrate that *uMabatha* is not a 'propagandist' production in which the white agents are the puppet masters, but that it is rather an autonomous creative expression of Zulu culture.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Pieter Scholtz to Peter Daubeny, 17 September 1970. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

This emphasis on the Zulu character of the production continues into the WTS discourse, which works to emphasise the historical character of the play. It states that the action in *uMabatha* 'takes place at Mfolozi, in Zululand' and Kustow's programme notes open with the following strong assertion,

uMabatha is not a Zulu version of Macbeth; it is a dramatization of a fierce and momentous epoch in South African history which uses the plotlines and conventions of Shakespeare's play to give greater resonance to its fable of authority, assassination and treachery. The epic story of Msomi's play is rooted in real historical events.¹⁰²

The WTS had its own reasons for emphasizing the Zulu character of this production. When the programme for the 1972 Season was launched in February that year, Daubeny insisted that 'they are not coming to London to do a Black Macbeth',¹⁰³ fearing comparisons with the production *Black Macbeth*, which played at the Roundhouse in January and was directed by Peter Coe. As indicated at the beginning of Wardle's review of the production, one of the main tenets of Daubeny's programming strategy was 'never to bring over foreign productions of Shakespeare'.¹⁰⁴ The founding vision for the WTS, as outlined by Hall in the introduction to the inaugural Season programme, was to bring theatre companies from around the world to celebrate 'Shakespeare's 400th anniversary with representative works from their repertoires'.¹⁰⁵ *uMabatha* was the first of only two 'foreign' productions of Shakespeare, the second of which was the Comédie-

¹⁰² Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁰³ Cited in Ronald Hastings, 'Total World Theatre', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 February 1972, p. 9

¹⁰⁴ Irving Wardle, 'Umabatha', *The Times*, 04 April 1972, p. 6

¹⁰⁵ World Theatre Season programme, Aldwych Theatre, 1964, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

Française's production of *Richard III*, directed by Hands, which came to the Season in 1973.

The fear that the production might be construed as 'propagandist' translated into the production's finances. The South African government did not financially support the enterprise. The visit was financed privately, making it one of only two companies in WTS history – the other that of Núria Espert – to be presented without financial support from their home government. Sneddon approached the South African government for financial advice, writing both to Fouché and to H. Muller of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Muller responded to say that he had passed the request onto a colleague at the Minister of Education, who replied that 'his Department subsidizes the Provinces with regard to the Performing Arts but they do not have any funds or the authority to subsidize overseas tours by groups of artists'.¹⁰⁶ The archive is silent on Fouché's reply, but no funds were forthcoming. Due to a collective effort from the Daubenys, Scholtz and Sneddon, the funds were raised through the University of Natal and a variety of private sources, including the Rupert Foundation, Harry F. Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American Corporation, and from Molly Daubeny's family business.¹⁰⁷ In addition to her private means, Molly Daubeny played a significant role in the realisation of this project, travelling solo on a fundraising visit to South Africa in the autumn of 1971.¹⁰⁸ The British Council also

¹⁰⁶ Letter from H Muller of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Elizabeth Sneddon, 07 December 1970. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁰⁷ Molly Daubeny was South African. Molly Daubeny, Interview with Author, 27 May 2014

¹⁰⁸ Letter from William Wilson, Central and Southern African Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to Peter Daubeny, 28 July 1971. Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

covered the costs of the coach that transported the cast between the theatre and their hotel.

The extent of the South African government's involvement was followed closely in some corners of the British press. In his 'Guide to the World Theatre Seasons' in *Plays and Players*, Hammond reported that Vorster intervened over a problem with exit permits for the cast,¹⁰⁹ stating that the company's visit 'must arouse decidedly mixed feelings among those firmly against apartheid, but nevertheless curious to see one of the results of its allegedly 'positive' aspects in action'.¹¹⁰ The *Daily Telegraph* reported that the South African government had been 'very cooperative'.¹¹¹ The UK's Anti-Apartheid Movement had been active since the 1950s and had expanded its activities to include a sport and cultural boycott in the 1960s,¹¹² so there was a heightened awareness of the political sensitivity of the project, both within the company, the WTS, and in some corners of the British press.

As I have demonstrated, the material conditions of production for *uMabatha* were inextricable from the contexts of British colonialism and Apartheid. I will now consider to what extent these conditions shaped the 'raw theatrical event' of *uMabatha* and will draw on the production programme, critical reviews, interview testimony, archival material and production photographs to inform my analysis.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Hammond, 'Part 1 of P&P's Guide', *Plays and Players*, April 1972, p. 24

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ronald Hastings, '55 Zulus in Drama Based on Macbeth', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 1972, p. 11

¹¹² <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/british-anti-apartheid-movement> [accessed on 16 September 2016]

In *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, Sinfield argues that,

Shakespeare's plays constitute an influential medium through which certain ways of thinking about the world may be promoted and others impeded, they are a site of cultural struggle and change.¹¹³

With this in mind, I will consider to what extent the intercultural element to the production simply privileged Shakespeare's text and consolidated Western cultural dominance, and to what extent it facilitated a challenge to this dominance and the emergence of an expression of cultural autonomy on the part of Zulu history and culture. Structurally, in terms of character and plot, Msomi's *uMabatha* closely followed Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The synopsis provided in the production programme indicated that *uMabatha* followed a similar narrative arc and this was also observed by critics. Barber detailed that 'it follows Shakespeare scene by scene'¹¹⁴ and Young wrote that it 'follows Shakespeare's plot so closely that you can almost put in the English words at any given moment'.¹¹⁵ The parallels were reflected in the names of some key characters: Macbeth became Mabatha, Duncan became Dungane, and Banquo became Bhangane. This transposition was also reflected in the three witches becoming three 'sangomas' or witchdoctors, the ghosts becoming ancestral spirits, and armies becoming impi warriors. Msomi's play introduced the figure of the *imbongi*, or praise singer, but beyond this, the mediation between the two sources and contexts retained the structure of the Shakespeare play. The souvenir programme explained that the play takes place within the temporal framework of nineteenth-century South African history and is

¹¹³ Alan Sinfield, 'Introduction: Reproductions, interventions', Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, eds, *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 154-57 (p. 155)

¹¹⁴ John Barber, 'Zulu 'Macbeth' of Simple Excitement', *Daily Telegraph*, 04 April 1972, p. 9

¹¹⁵ B. A. Young, 'Umabatha', *Financial Times*, 04 April 1972, p. 3

inspired by the historical figure of Shaka, who came to power in 1816 and brought isolated kraals together to form a Zulu kingdom. It outlines that Shaka, like Macbeth, has a supernatural encounter with a 'umatagi' or wizard, who is said to have prophesized that Shaka would become 'chief of chiefs'. The prophecy also indicated he would have a Lady Macbeth-like wife, Pampata, who 'had a very high opinion of Shaka's future' and 'played a dominant role in encouraging his ambitious undertakings'. Like Duncan, Shaka was murdered by those close to him: his half-brothers, Dinghane and Mhlangana, and Mbopa, an 'Induna' or chief councillor of the Royal Kraal.¹¹⁶ In his analysis of the relationship between the play and historical events, McMurtry argues that 'claims to historical parallels were specious publicity'.¹¹⁷ He details various historical inaccuracies, arguing that 'by blurring the actual and the dramatic, *uMabatha* dehistoricised the consolidation of power and the centralisation and increased the authority of the monarchy'.¹¹⁸ Whilst I do not believe that Msomi should be held to account for historical inaccuracies in a play that is ultimately a fictional piece of dramatic literature, his reimagining of the power structures of Zulu society in order to fit better those represented in *Macbeth* is nonetheless indicative of the dominance of the Western literary framework.

Although the form and structure of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* largely dictated the shape of *uMabatha*, Msomi's play in production did not privilege Shakespeare's language. The programme stated that 'Shakespeare's words are not used' and

¹¹⁶ Souvenir programme, THM/85/2/3, Peter Daubeney World Theatre Season Collection, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹¹⁷ McMurtry, p. 313

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

indicated that it was performed in Zulu with simultaneous translation provided by Huntley Stuart.¹¹⁹ This promise of the absence of Shakespearean language is not entirely upheld by critical reviews. Marcus and Barber both note that the production retained the soliloquies of the original.¹²⁰ Barber was critical of Msomi's treatment of language, arguing that he 'either paraphrases the original (I listened to a translation through a transistor) or in this version, debased it'¹²¹ and Wardle also observed that it is 'a reduction of Shakespeare's play to a bare scenario, paring the language down simply to the main events'.¹²² The critical language used by Barber and Wardle, such as 'debased', 'reduction', and 'paring down', reveals their investment in the sanctity of Shakespeare's language. *uMabatha* offered a challenge to the traditional supremacy of the text in British performance culture through the structural importance of dance and vocal accompaniment. In interviews with Rees and director Yvonne Brewster, both recalled how the production began with the sound of drums offstage and the Zulus then entering down the aisles and onto the stage. Brewster described how 'they lined across the cross arch and they did this thing a bit like an Alton Kumalo boot dance. God, the place just resounded'.¹²³ Rees also recalls the power of the production's opening, describing how 'it felt like the roof of the Aldwych was rising'.¹²⁴ The synopsis provided in the production programme indicates that this opening sequence

¹¹⁹ Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁰ Frank Marcus, 'Black Magic', *Sunday Telegraph*, 09 April 1972, p. 18 and Barber 1972, p. 9

¹²¹ Barber 1972, p. 9

¹²² Wardle 1972, p. 6

¹²³ Yvonne Brewster, Interview with Author, 12 August 2016. Alton Kumalo (1939-2013) was a prominent black actor in Britain who founded Temba in 1972

¹²⁴ David Rees, Interview with Author, 12 January 2015

represented the celebration of chief Dangane's victory and his appointment of Mabatha as leader of the defeated Mkhawundeni. In his review, Billington referred to this moment, and drew out other examples of recognizable moments in *Macbeth* that were transposed into the Zulu performance idiom. He described the 'exhilarating' final conflict between Mabatha and Mafudu, as well as praising Daphne Hlmoulka's performances as Mabatha's wife, arguing that she 'handles the sleepwalking scene brilliantly ending it with a crooning ritual chant that alone evokes a haunted nightmare-world'.¹²⁵ For Billington, these moments reminded the audience 'that Shakespeare's play is rooted in a ritualistic society of which modern naturalistic productions never give us a glimpse'.¹²⁶ Marcus also argued that the production's emphasis on 'the rituals, ceremonies, celebrations and supernatural manifestations' contrasted with British productions of Shakespeare, as they were 'the very elements in the story... which we find difficulty in accepting'.¹²⁷ Young marvelled at the performers' ability to shift imperceptibly 'between speech and song, gesture and dance' and pitted this against English actors, whose gestures are 'the result of a long tradition of imposed artificiality'.¹²⁸ Young praised Lawrence Sithole's performance as Banghana for being 'the most unShakespearean performance of the evening'.¹²⁹ For Billington, Marcus and Young, *uMabatha* clearly created a productive tension between Zulu performance style and

¹²⁵ Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Marcus 1972, p. 18

¹²⁸ Young 1972, p. 3

¹²⁹ Ibid.

traditional British conceptions of Shakespeare performance, presenting a challenge to Shakespeare performance paradigms on the British stage.

There were a number of critics who argued that the elements of dance and vocal accompaniment were not entirely integrated into the fabric of the play. Barber argued that the production was 'dominated by the dances and chants',¹³⁰ Wardle described them as 'traditional displays which could equally well appear as a separate dance programme',¹³¹ and Hobson wrote that the production's 'central feature is the splendid war dances'.¹³² Critics were united in their warmth and enthusiasm for these elements and many suggested that they were responsible for the production's popularity with audiences. Billington wrote, 'I suspect what will pound in the memory of non-African audiences is the explosive ensemble precision of the 55-strong company', arguing that *uMabatha* 'is a breath-takingly exciting theatrical experience'.¹³³ Marcus admitted that 'it would be dishonest to pretend that it was not the *external* features which electrified the audience and brought cheers',¹³⁴ [my emphasis]. Daubeney made a similar observation in a letter to Oppenheimer, one of the company's sponsors, in which he wrote that *uMabatha* 'succeeded largely because of the dance element'.¹³⁵ Daubeney was so convinced by this that, when the production's return visit in 1973 appeared under threat, he sent

¹³⁰ Barber 1972, p. 9

¹³¹ Wardle 1972, p. 6

¹³² Harold Hobson, 'Tribal splendours', *The Sunday Times*, 09 April 1972, p. 37

¹³³ Michael Billington, 'Umabatha', *Guardian*, 04 April 1972. Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹³⁴ Marcus 1972, p. 18

¹³⁵ Letter from Peter Daubeney to Harry F. Oppenheimer, 26 April 1973. Box 14, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

a cable to Sneddon suggesting that the Impi dancers could appear on their own as an 'acceptable alternative'¹³⁶ to a full production of *uMabatha*.

The fact that the value of the production was widely located in the dance element betrays a problematic evocation of genealogies of touristic performance. In his review for *Plays and Players*, Hammond argued that, by asking Msomi 'to graft an alien European growth onto an essentially African experience', Sneddon and Scholtz have effectively demonstrated the 'incompatibility of the two', which, he goes on to argue,

shows the great void existing between African and European populations in South Africa; and the depressing thing about it is that it must have made many uncommitted people feel that this void can never be bridged, an assumption right at the heart of apartheid.¹³⁷

Although I agree that the production betrayed a 'great void' between the Zulus and Sneddon and Scholtz, the problem does not lie in the 'incompatibility' of two distinct cultures, but rather in Sneddon and Scholtz's choice to perpetuate romanticised, colonial conceptions of what Hammond himself sweepingly calls 'African experience'. By drawing on traditional Zulu singing and dancing, *uMabatha* evoked what Balme calls South Africa's 'long and doubtful history of folkloristic theatre troupes presenting to a mainly foreign audience the image of Africans in an eternal state of dancing, singing, and drumming'.¹³⁸ This was evident in some areas of press discourse that linked the singing and dancing in the production to culturally reductive notions of African culture. A kind of primitivistic discourse emerged which

¹³⁶ Letter from Elizabeth Sneddon to Molly and Peter Daubeney on 18 April 1973. Box 14, Folder 3, Peter Daubeney Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹³⁷ Jonathan Hammond, 'Umabatha', *Plays and Players*, May 1972, p. 49

¹³⁸ Balme 1999, p. 169

betrayed what Knowles defines as ‘an essentialising notion of cultural authenticity, in which non-Western cultural forms are assessed by standards of cultural purity that both fetishize them, and relegate them to prehistoric or ahistorical realms of ‘tradition’’.¹³⁹ In an interview with *The Times* on 29 March 1972, the director Scholtz coupled his praise for the actors’ abilities with an essentialist, racialized rhetoric, which effectively negated any creative authority they had in the creation of the production. When discussing their movement improvisation, Scholtz described how ‘even the quite sophisticated Zulus – and quite a number in the cast are well-educated – will do a sort of shadow dance’ and declared ‘it occurs very frequently in groups that are close to the earth and have worked in the fields’.¹⁴⁰ In his review, Young employed culturally reductive language, stating that the production is,

directed by Pieter Scholtz but clearly intends to incorporate as much as possible of what is purely African. The company breaks into song and dance at the least opportunity.¹⁴¹

By setting Scholtz against what is ‘purely African’, Young’s argument immediately creates a distinction between white and black South Africans, revealing a reductive notion of what being ‘African’ means. His definition of what is ‘purely African’ is directly linked to the acts of singing and dancing. Later in his argument he makes the following statement,

Africans are natural actors: their emotions lie near the surface and they gesture as readily as they talk. It’s this instantaneous sublimation of thought into movement that gives their acting its touchingly childlike element.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Knowles 2010, p. 42

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Ronald Hayman, ‘Pieter Scholtz and the Zulu Macbeth’, *The Times*, 29 March 1972. Press cutting, Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁴¹ Young 1972, p. 3

¹⁴² Ibid.

By aligning Africans with 'emotions' and describing their acting as 'childlike', Young constructs a patronising discourse that positions the Zulus as less rational and less sophisticated than white South Africans and white Westerners.

This genealogy of touristic performance is also visually reflected in the costumes worn during the performance. As Balme recognises, 'this notion of authenticity is not restricted to practical exigencies of performing songs and dances; it also concerns questions of ethnicity and corporeal textuality'.¹⁴³ The actors' bodies were coded in terms of traditional Zulu dress [see Figure 21 and 22]. The men performed barefoot in feathers, animal skins and furs and they carried cowhide drums, shields, and spears. The women in the chorus performed bare-breasted in knee-lengths skirts and Hlomulka, as Kamadonsela wife of Mabatha, wore a beaded headdress. Barber described the performers as appearing 'like a picture in a Children's Encyclopaedia',¹⁴⁴ recognising a received image of Africans in what he saw on stage, although he does not question or challenge this in his review. Zulu touristic performances in the UK date back to as early as May 1853¹⁴⁵ and the image of the Zulu as 'noble savage' had been memorialised as late as 1964 in Cy Enfield's film *Zulu*. The film depicted the Battle of Rorke's Drift between the British Army and the Zulus in January 1879, during the Anglo-Zulu War. Rather than challenging British preconceptions and cultural stereotypes, the production offered audiences an image of a safe and beautiful British colonial past, freezing the Zulus in a state of

¹⁴³ Balme 1999, pp. 274-75

¹⁴⁴ Barber 1972, p. 9

¹⁴⁵ <http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/21st-may-1853/9/caffre-exhibition> [accessed 03 November 2016]

‘Otherness’. By evoking the genealogy of touristic performance through dancing, singing, and costume, the production perpetuated what Chaudhuri describes as ‘a neo-colonialism in which the cultural clichés which underwrote imperialism survived more or less intact’.¹⁴⁶ This is upheld by H.C. Groenewald in his article ‘A little space in history – some historical perspectives on Zulu theatre’,¹⁴⁷ where he argues that *uMabatha* is not representative of Zulu performance culture but is rather part of the narrative of Western intervention in Zulu culture that began with British missionaries. Thus, *uMabatha* did not present an expression of Zulu cultural autonomy, but rather a folklorisation of Zulu culture, which perpetuated regressive notions of Zulus and their culture. This was reflected in some corners of the British press and it is hard not to see its immense popularity in terms of the triumph of exoticisation.



Figure 21: *uMabatha*, 1972. Photographer unknown.

¹⁴⁶ Una Chaudhuri, ‘The Future of the Hyphen: Interculturalism, Textuality, and the Difference Within’, in *Interculturalism and Performance*, ed. by Bonnie Marranca and Gautam Dasgupta (New York: PAJ Publications, 1991), pp. 192-207 (p. 196)

¹⁴⁷ H.C. Groenewald, ‘A Little Space in History – Some Historical Perspectives on Zulu Theatre’, *South African Theatre Journal*, 16 (2002), 30-43



Figure 22: *uMabatha*, 1972. Photograph by Alex Agor

To return to Carlson's seven-step model for the gradations of intercultural performance, I would align *uMabatha* with number 6: 'Foreign elements remain foreign, used within familiar structures for *Verfremdung*, for shock value, or for exotic quotation'.¹⁴⁸ However, in this case, the elements were there 'for exotic quotation', rather than for '*Verfremdung*', which suggests a political commitment that was, in my view, absent from *uMabatha*. Whilst Sneddon and Scholtz were using institutional resources at the University of Natal to support marginalised cultures in South Africa and give their voices a platform, by commissioning Msomi to realise Sneddon's vision of the parallels between Zulu history and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, the project exposed the cultural assumptions and preconceptions at the heart of Apartheid's power imbalance. In turn, British critical reception was marked

¹⁴⁸ Marvin Carlson, 'Peter Brook's 'The Mahabharata' and Ariane Mnouchkine's 'L'Indiade' as examples of contemporary cross-cultural theatre' in *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign*, ed. by Erika Fischer-Lichte, Josephine Riley and Michael Gissenwehler (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag Tübingen, 1990), pp. 49-56 (p. 50)

by a mixture of enthusiasm, uncertainty, and naïve cultural responses. Although Billington, Marcus and Young argued that *uMabatha* presented a productive challenge to the dominance of naturalistic performance styles in British productions of Shakespeare; Barber, Wardle and Hammond felt that the production had little to do with Shakespeare and that it was predominantly a showcase for Zulu dance. In the following section, I turn to consideration of *uMabatha's* influence on British performance culture and remain mindful to the extent to which the production's legacy was influenced by the colonialist structures that shaped it.

***uMabatha's* Legacy on the British stage**

My central claim is that the production's remarkable popularity and longevity on the British stage was a key contributor to the institutionalisation of 'World' Shakespeare projects, particularly at Shakespeare's Globe. I argue that *uMabatha's* return to the British stage in a post-Apartheid context as the first international project at the newly-opened Globe affirmed the venue's international project and I draw parallels with the discourses surrounding the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival (G2G) to demonstrate how *uMabatha* embedded both the potential and the dangers of this 'World' Shakespeare project right at the beginning of the Globe's history. I go on to detail *uMabatha's* influence on specific theatrical projects in order to demonstrate further the peculiar combination of opportunity and exploitation that characterises the production's legacy on the British stage.

uMabatha played a foundational role in the enduring popularity of 'World' Shakespeare projects on the British stage. Although the production's connections to Shakespeare were deemphasized during the WTS and the production's

subsequent 1977 UK tour, when the production opened at the Globe on 4 August 1997 it was confidently billed as 'Umabatha: The Zulu Macbeth',¹⁴⁹ an overt statement of the production's intercultural intent. This shift represented in part the new role played by *uMabatha* in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa. A revival of the production was staged in 1995 at the personal request of the country's first democratically elected President, Nelson Mandela¹⁵⁰ and the Globe explicitly locates the production in this context by reproducing a letter from Mandela to Msomi in the production programme. Mandela wrote that 'the wealth of talent and the richness of production enhanced the pride of our new South Africa' and that the production,

illustrates vividly the universality of ambition, greed, and fear. Moreover, the similarities between Shakespeare's Macbeth and our own Shaka become a glaring reminder that the world is philosophically a very small place.¹⁵¹

Mandela's words are revealing about the symbolic work done by *uMabatha* in two respects. First, Mandela's discourse of 'pride' firmly positioned the production as a celebration and regeneration of Zulu history and tradition, appealing to a collective sense of self-assurance and solidarity after a prolonged period of marginalization and oppression. This is emphasized by Msomi in the programme notes, where he writes that *uMabatha* is 'an opportunity to take pride in the richness of our South African culture'.¹⁵² Second, Mandela's essentialising rhetoric framed the production as part of the post-Apartheid reconciliation process with former white oppressors.

¹⁴⁹ Production File for *uMabatha*, Shakespeare's Globe, 1997, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵⁰ Welcome Msomi, Interview with Author, 05 August 2016

¹⁵¹ Production File for *uMabatha*, Shakespeare's Globe, 1997, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵² Ibid.

By invoking the ‘universality’ of ambition, greed, and fear, the production sidesteps any placing of blame and instead evokes a transcendent humanism. This narrative was further emphasized by Msomi, who reportedly announced ‘Shakespeare is African!’ on opening night.¹⁵³ For the Globe, this overt interculturalism affirmed the aptness of the theatre’s emerging international remit, which Artistic Director Mark Rylance worked hard to justify in the production programme, referencing the theatre’s American founder, Sam Wanamaker, and writing that it is ‘funded and supported by people from around the world’.¹⁵⁴ By choosing *uMabatha* as the opening production for the Globe’s first international festival, Rylance simultaneously mobilised the production’s historic popular appeal and gave its renewed relevance a platform, confirming Shakespeare’s contemporary international resonances. These continue to be invoked by the theatre through projects such as the Globe to Globe festival (G2G)¹⁵⁵ and the 2015-2016 Globe to Globe *Hamlet* tour.¹⁵⁶

By drawing attention to *uMabatha*’s position at the beginning of the Globe’s history of World Shakespeare productions, I aim to offer parallels between the ambiguous legacy of the production and anxieties that continue to emerge around the Globe’s more recent projects. I have chosen to engage with the discourses surrounding the G2G because it received exceptionally rigorous scholarly attention due to the global reach afforded to it by its association with the London 2012 Cultural Olympiad. I am

¹⁵³ Benedict Nightingale, ‘Macbeth as a regular assegai’, *The Times*, 06 August 1997, p. 14

¹⁵⁴ Production File for *uMabatha*, Shakespeare’s Globe, 1997, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁵⁵ <http://globetoglobe.shakespearesglobe.com/archive/2012/> [accessed 12 January 2017]

¹⁵⁶ <http://globetoglobe.shakespearesglobe.com/> [accessed 12 January 2017]

particularly interested in drawing out the parallels between *uMabatha* and the Māori version of *Troilus and Cressida* (*A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*), which opened the G2G on 23 April. I am aware that there are vast differences between these productions, their ambitions, and the contexts which produced them. What is striking is that the discourses that surround both productions express similar concerns in a comparable language, despite the productions being separated by 15 years. In her analysis of *Troilus and Cressida*, Catherine Silverstone's key concern resided in what she calls the 'exotic/universal dynamic',¹⁵⁷ a formulation derived from Knowles' critical work on international festivals.¹⁵⁸ She details how the production was 'Othered' by reviewers who 'commented on the actors' tattoos, exposed buttocks, and performance of *haka*, almost as if they were objects of outmoded forms of anthropological enquiry'¹⁵⁹ and mentions accompanying photographs in papers, presenting 'spectacular images of cultural otherness on the Globe's stage'.¹⁶⁰ This chimes with the language used in descriptions of the Zulu actors in reviews of *uMabatha*. Photographs, too, were similarly prolific, not only representing the Zulus in performance, but also outside the context of the theatre, in the streets and in Trafalgar Square.¹⁶¹ This plethora of images visibly foregrounded the spectacle of their incongruous presence in London. Alongside this exoticisation, Silverstone also details the universalising dimension of the

¹⁵⁷ Catherine Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', in Susan Bennett and Christie Carson, *Shakespeare Beyond English: A Global Experiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 35-47 (p. 41)

¹⁵⁸ Knowles 2004, pp. 180-200

¹⁵⁹ Silverstone in Bennett and Carson, p. 40

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1972, 1973, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

production, which incorporated cultural differences under the sign of Shakespeare. Directors Rachel House and Jamus Webster transported the action of Shakespeare's play from Ancient Greece into a Māori context by reconfiguring the war between fictional Māori tribes, giving Shakespeare's characters Māori equivalents, and recasting the spiritual and social world of the play in terms of Māori culture and traditions;¹⁶² all of which is reminiscent of *uMabatha's* transposition of *Macbeth* into a Zulu context. Much like critical reviews of *uMabatha*, Silverstone argues that reviews of *Troilus and Cressida* 'made appeals to Shakespeare's universal and transcendent qualities'.¹⁶³ For example, in the *Daily Telegraph*, Cavendish argued that, 'across the language barrier came hurtling, with ease, the universal aspects of the story'.¹⁶⁴ By combining indigenous cultural forms with Shakespeare, then, both productions risked being consumed as exotic, universal, and as objects of cultural tourism.

On the other hand, Silverstone's main argument for the potential of this piece of work resided in the opportunity provided by the cultural capital of the festival for 'showcasing' Māori culture. Adopting the term from Knowles' understanding of it as describing the exchange of theatrical wares that happens on the global stage, she argues that 'showcasing' can also be situated 'in relation to specific local histories and interests',¹⁶⁵ outlining the production's contribution to the cultural regeneration of Māori culture. This chimes with Msomi's hope that *uMabatha* 'will

¹⁶² Silverstone in Bennett and Carson, p. 36

¹⁶³ Silverstone in Bennett and Carson, p. 41

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/theatre-reviews/9224440/Maori-Troilus-and-Cressida-Shakespeares-Globe-review.html> [accessed 12 January 2017]

¹⁶⁵ Silverstone in Bennett and Carson, p. 37

inspire a lot of other South Africans to show the world about the diversity of our culture'.¹⁶⁶ Silverstone also discusses the material benefits afforded the cast as a result of *Troilus and Cressida*,¹⁶⁷ which was also true for the cast of *uMabatha*. In 1973, after a drawn out disagreement with Sneddon, the company returned to the WTS as the Zulu Company with Msomi listed as the producer.¹⁶⁸ The Daubenys were key to the success of this endeavour, flying over to South Africa to meet the cast separately from Sneddon and funding their return visit. Msomi then capitalised on the production's international standing, garnered through two successful WTS appearances, to free himself and his cast from Apartheid restrictions on the freedom of black South Africans and led the production on a world tour to Italy in 1975, returning to the UK in 1977, before travelling on to Israel, and finally closing in the US in 1979. Msomi then went on to develop a career in the US, working at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and at the Lincoln Centre before reviving *uMabatha* in 1995. Msomi's wife and fellow actor, Thuli Dumakude, who played Kamadonsela, wife of Mabatha, on the production's tour of the US, subsequently developed a successful career on Broadway and the West End. In 1981, she played the title role in Elsa Joubert's *Poppie Nongena*. The production later transferred to London, winning Dumakude an Olivier Award for Best Actress in 1984. Although *Troilus and Cressida* and *uMabatha* both privilege and affirm Shakespeare and associated institutions, such as The Globe, the WTS and the RSC, I join Silverstone in

¹⁶⁶ Production File for *uMabatha*, Shakespeare's Globe, 1997, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁶⁷ Silverstone in Bennett and Carson, p. 38

¹⁶⁸ Production File for *uMabatha*, Aldwych Theatre, 1973, V&A Theatre and Performance Department

suggesting they also mobilize the cultural capital of these institutions for their own ends.

The distinct combination of opportunity and exploitation that characterizes the production history of *uMabatha* on the British stage is also evident in a subsequent theatrical project involving Msomi. *uMabatha*'s challenge to the predominance of naturalism on the British stage resonated with practitioners, who were used to the 'theatrical orthodoxy'¹⁶⁹ of the RSC's engagement with Kott's *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (published in Polish and in French in 1962 and in English in 1964). Kott's ideas proved a catalyst for a movement to contemporize the plays and underscore their contemporary relevance with a naturalistic aesthetic. *uMabatha*, by contrast, transposed Shakespeare's *Macbeth* into a context seemingly remote from twentieth-century geopolitical concern and replaced naturalism with ritual and an ever-shifting combination of dialogue, movement and song. This new performance vocabulary resonated with Ustinov, who Msomi recalled saying, 'let me tell you my boy, this is the first time I have ever understood *Macbeth*'.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, Hands recalled that 'we were all stunned by it', picking out the 'wonderfully poetic language' and the 'dances and ceremonies'.¹⁷¹ The impact of Hands' encounter with *uMabatha* at the WTS remerged twenty years later, when he invited Msomi to work with him on the music and movement for a non-naturalistic production of *Tamburlaine the Great*, starring Anthony Sher, which

¹⁶⁹ Dennis Kennedy, *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 9

¹⁷⁰ Welcome Msomi, Interview with Author, 05 August 2016

¹⁷¹ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

opened the RSC's Swan Theatre in 1992.

Msomi's creative contribution to Hands' production of *Tamburlaine the Great* embodies certain aspects of *uMabatha's* ambiguous legacy on the British stage. On the one hand, the collaboration demonstrates the impact that the production had on the development of non-naturalistic performance idioms on the British stage. Hands invited Msomi to work on music and movement and Msomi recalls working with the actors to create 'simple movements', which were 'accompanied by the sounds of the drums'.¹⁷² Msomi led on the choreography for the battle scenes, for which he explicitly drew on *uMabatha* for inspiration, explaining 'how the army of King Shaka would prepare for war, so with Tamburlaine'.¹⁷³ This was recognised by Billington in his *Guardian* review, in which he drew a genealogical link between the two productions. Billington described how Tamburlaine was characterised as a 'shaggy tribal chieftain who leads his troops in foot-stamping chants and lethal high kicks: a music and movement is by Welcome Msomi, responsible 20 years ago for the astonishing Zulu Macbeth'.¹⁷⁴ The physical and vocal elements contributed by Msomi were combined with 'East German circus practice and English text concern'¹⁷⁵ to create a production described by Coveney as 'exciting and

¹⁷² Welcome Msomi, Interview with Author, 05 August 2016

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Michael Billington, 'In the Court of a Monster', *Guardian*, 03 September 1992. Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁵ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

sensuous'¹⁷⁶ and by Nightingale as showing the RSC 'at its imaginative best'.¹⁷⁷

Recognition of Msomi's contribution was formalized by his subsequent nomination for an Olivier Award for Best Choreography.¹⁷⁸

However, the nature of the collaboration between Hands and Msomi reflects a tendency for certain white practitioners to appropriate other performance cultures to revivify the white canon. Interviews with Msomi and Hands reveal that the cultural specificity of Zulu performance tradition was never a priority, resulting in a decontextualizing displacement of material into a Western performance context akin to the work by Brook and Mnouchkine in the 1980s. Msomi describes how Hands 'wanted to create some excitement'¹⁷⁹ through Msomi's contribution. Recalling his work with actors in rehearsal, Msomi explains that he 'created a different kind of language, it was nothing to do with Zulu but it was the creation of sound that goes together with the stamping of the feet'.¹⁸⁰ Similarly Hands explained that 'we used a lot of Zulu stuff, not that the public knew that, and not that the critics knew that'.¹⁸¹ This testimony reveals that, from Hands' point of view as director, it did not matter if the audience were unaware that certain elements were drawn from Zulu culture. He was not interested in inviting the audience to

¹⁷⁶ Michael Coveney, 'Tamburlaine the terrific', *Observer*, 06 September 1992. Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁷ Benedict Nightingale, 'Jungle upstart proves irresistible', *The Times*, 03 September 1992. Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁸ Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁷⁹ Welcome Msomi, Interview with Author, 05 August 2016

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

examine the tensions between participating cultures in his work, but was rather interested in combining them to create theatrical excitement. As indicated by Billington's response, some critics nevertheless recognised certain production elements as 'Zulu', demonstrating the ongoing legacy of *uMabatha* in people's memories. Coveney described how 'Sher's physical progress is compounded in the Zulu chants and jigging motions of the company',¹⁸² and Milne observed the way Tamburlaine's followers convey 'their menacing excitement with Zulu-style chanting, stamping and hissing, choreographed by Welcome Msomi'.¹⁸³ On the other hand, de Jongh and Spencer did not mention Zulu performance tradition in their reviews. De Jongh even suggested that the production's 'stylised rituals' and the 'prancing, chanting, dancing, and swaying on the spot' are indicative of how Hands 'imaginatively exploited Tamburlaine's *Eastern* locale',¹⁸⁴ [my emphasis]. By mistaking the performative elements contributed by Msomi for a performance tradition that might have emerged from the context of the play's setting, De Jongh demonstrates that these elements function in the production as representing a generic 'Otherness', rather than cultural specificity. As a result, Hands and Msomi unwittingly continued the commodification of the 'Other' that was previously manifested in *uMabatha*'s folklorisation of Zulu culture in the 1970s.

¹⁸² Coveney, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance. It is also worth noting that Sher was born in Cape Town and grew up in Apartheid South Africa until he moved to the UK in 1968

¹⁸³ Kirsty Milne, 'Blood, Brainings and Barbarity', *Sunday Telegraph*, 06 September 1992. Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁴ Nicholas de Jongh, 'Over the Top with warrior Tamburlaine', *Evening Standard*, 02 September 1992. Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

The 'Otherness' represented in the production by these ritualised vocal and physical elements was also used as theatrical shorthand for a primitive and barbaric society, further perpetuating regressive and backward notions of non-Western cultures. Hands explained that his collaboration with Msomi came from 'a desire to present a primitive society, growing from barbarism into leadership'.¹⁸⁵ This suggests that the lasting impression that *uMabatha* left on Hands was of a theatrically exciting depiction of a primitive, barbaric society, an impression that he then commissioned Msomi to recreate for the audiences of *Tamburlaine*. These words pervade the critical discourse. Nightingale describes 'primitive dancing and chanting', characterised Sher's *Tamburlaine* as 'jungle-wise', and suggest that *Tamburlaine* and his followers 'have the look at first of barbaric guerrillas'.¹⁸⁶ Taylor describes how 'Sher's *Tamburlaine* begins by approaching long euphonious words with a primitive awe'.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, some critics understood the production as a reflection on modern tyranny. Billington described Sher's *Tamburlaine* as 'a bulging-eyed monomaniac with a Hitlerian dream of world conquest'¹⁸⁸ and Rutherford describes him as 'a demonic Hitler figure, possibly with a touch of Saddam Hussein'.¹⁸⁹ These responses demonstrate that the representation of the 'Other' in the production did not necessarily preclude understandings of tyranny that were modern and Western European. This lack of cultural specificity nevertheless shows that the production was invested in expressing transhistorical

¹⁸⁵ Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

¹⁸⁶ Nightingale, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁷ Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁸ Billington, Press cutting, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

¹⁸⁹ Press cutting, Production File for *Tamburlaine the Great*, Swan Theatre, 1992, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

continuities that universalised human experience and elided difference, just as *uMabatha* did between medieval Scotland and nineteenth-century Zululand.

Despite *uMabatha*'s problematic entanglement in histories of cultural imperialism on the British stage, the production made a significant contribution to an expanded understand of what 'the canon' was and who it was for. Although there were precedents for black performers interpreting roles in productions of Shakespeare on the British stage,¹⁹⁰ my research suggests that there had been no significant instance of a full black cast adapting and performing Shakespeare on the British stage before 1972. That year the London stage witnessed three Shakespeare productions, including *uMabatha*, which had full black casts. The other two were Coe's *The Black Macbeth*, which opened at the Roundhouse on 23 February, and Marowitz's *An Othello*, which opened at the RSC's Open Space at Tottenham Court Road on 8 June. *The Black Macbeth*, adapted and directed by Coe, transferred the action to a tribal setting in Barotseland, Africa. Marowitz's adaptation, more overtly political than the other two, interspersed the original Shakespeare text with extracts from Malcolm X speeches and featured a black Iago played by Anton Phillips, opposite Rudolph Walter as Othello. All three productions were white-led initiatives. What eventually set *uMabatha* apart from the other two is that the cast were able to free themselves from their white producers. When the production

¹⁹⁰ Ira Aldridge played Othello (Royalty Theatre, 1825 and Covent Garden, 1833) and interpreted 'white' Shakespearean roles in white face, including Shylock, Richard III, Macbeth, Hamlet and King Lear. Paul Robeson played Othello (Savoy Theatre, 1930). Gordon Heath played Othello and Pauline Henriques played Emilia in a six-month Arts Council tour of *Othello* directed by Kenneth Tynan (1951). Heath then reinterpreted the role for the television in 1955. Edric Connor played Gower in *Pericles* (Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, 1958). For more information see Chambers 2011

returned in 1973, it was still inflected by the context of Apartheid, but was now represented by a black producer, as well as being written by a black playwright and performed by a black cast.

As one of the earliest examples of a black-led theatre company producing Shakespeare, I would argue that the Zulu company's *uMabatha* provided a productive challenge to what Kennedy calls 'the myth of cultural ownership'.¹⁹¹

When the black-led theatre company Talawa produced its first Shakespeare, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, at the Liverpool Everyman in April 1991,¹⁹² King-Dorset cites the company's press handout as reading,

Staging of Shakespeare's work with black cast members in the past have been rare: in the 1930s, Orson Wells directed the famous voodoo Macbeth; in the 1970s there was *uMabatha*, the Zulu version of the play; and in the early 1990s, the National Theatre staged a mixed-cast *Measure for Measure*.¹⁹³

Although I have been unable to substantiate this with archival evidence, if true, it demonstrates the company drawing a genealogical link between *uMabatha* and their first black-led production of Shakespeare. I would suggest that it is entirely plausible, given that the director of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, Brewster, saw *uMabatha* at the WTS. Brewster says that the production was not a direct influence on her work, explaining, 'I don't understand Zulu culture, I don't know anything about it' and rather citing her Polish grandfather as the source of her professional attachment to Shakespeare. She suggests, however, that *uMabatha* made her think

¹⁹¹ Kennedy 1993, p. 16

¹⁹² The production transferred to the Bloomsbury Theatre in London, where it ran from 16 May to 15 June 1991

¹⁹³ Rodriguez King-Dorset, *Black British Theatre Pioneers: Yvonne Brewster and the First Generation of Actors, Playwrights and Other Practitioners* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2014), p. 38

‘things are possible that are not just Peter bloody Hall, or Laurence Olivier dressing up and sticking out his red lip and saying he was Othello’.¹⁹⁴ For Brewster, then, the experience of encountering *uMabatha* was valuable because it offered both a different approach to Shakespeare productions than that presented by Hall at the RSC and engaged black actors on stage, rather than white actors in blackface. Under Brewster, Talawa produced the first black-led productions of many ‘canonical’ plays, including Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest* in 1989, *King Lear* in 1994, *‘Tis Pity She’s a Whore* in 1995, and *Othello* in 1997. Archival evidence suggests that *uMabatha* also increased the size of black audiences at the WTS. In a letter to the South African Ambassador, dated 9 May 1972, Daubeny wrote that the production,

attracted to the Aldwych people who I feel would never have dreamed of going to the theatre under normal circumstances, but who felt that this was something spectacular and not to be missed.¹⁹⁵

Although Daubeny provides no specific details on demographics, testimony from Msomi corroborates that the audience ‘was predominantly white and then slowly black people started to come in as well’.¹⁹⁶ By programming *uMabatha*, the WTS expanded its audiences beyond a theatrical elite.

To conclude, I have demonstrated that issues of appropriation and cultural exploitation are a concern in relation to *uMabatha* and its legacy, particularly as questions of neo-colonialism continue to be raised in relation to contemporary

¹⁹⁴ Yvonne Brewster, Interview with Author, 12 August 2016. Laurence Olivier played Othello in black face at the National Theatre in 1964

¹⁹⁵ Box 14, Folder 1, Peter Daubeny Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

¹⁹⁶ Welcome Msomi, Interview with Author, 05 August 2016

programming at the Globe Theatre. I hope that the historical perspective afforded by this analysis will provoke further reflection on the Globe's approach to 'World' Shakespeare projects and join Bridget Escolme in her call for 'a decentering of Shakespeare in global knowledge production'.¹⁹⁷ I would, however, argue that *uMabatha* had a creative and productive influence on the British stage in various ways. While the production's challenge to the dominance of naturalism in performance paradigms of Elizabethan plays was exploited in *Tamburlaine the Great*, the challenge was openly valued by certain critics and practitioners when the production first came in the early 1970s and continues to be a productive manifestation of intercultural Shakespeare projects in the UK. Within the context of Apartheid South Africa, it is significant that the company was able to mobilise the cultural capital of the WTS to become self-sufficient and escape oppressive restrictions on its freedoms at home. I have also demonstrated how the production attracted new black audiences to the WTS and reclaimed Shakespeare for a different performance tradition, influencing pioneering work at Talawa Theatre Company.

Conclusion

This chapter considers the contribution made by the WTS to black British theatre history. As explained in its introduction, the two case studies were chosen for their contrasting receptions by British critics and audiences, which reveals much about British anxieties about colonialism and racism in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

¹⁹⁷ Bridget Escolme, 'Decentring Shakespeare: A Hope for Future Connections' in Bennett and Carson, pp. 308-12 (p. 309)

Despite the NEC's widespread criticism, the company proved to have a long-lasting influence on the British stage. The NEC's legacy can be traced in playwriting, programming, repertoire, and in the formation of some of the UK's earliest black identity companies. *uMabatha* proved to be one of the WTS's most successful productions, both critically and financially, and the production's legacy can be traced in subsequent challenges to naturalistic performance paradigms for Elizabethan drama in Britain, in expanded understandings of who the canon and the theatre were for, and in the later institutionalisation of 'World' theatre projects at Shakespeare's Globe.

Conclusion

This thesis provides a history of the WTS and seeks thereby to inscribe an overlooked yet significant event into British theatre history. Through my institutional analysis and case studies of visiting productions, I have sought to use the WTS to challenge dominant narratives of the post-War British stage and to showcase rich and diverse lineages of international influence on British performance culture. In concluding this investigation, I will pull together the threads of my argument to demonstrate the scale of the WTS' impact and to foreground its potential for further study. I will also attend to the work done by Molly Daubeney to safeguard the WTS's legacy and develop further the UK's links within international theatre networks in the period after Peter Daubeney's death.

In Chapter One, I sought to inscribe the WTS into histories of international theatre on the British stage, using Daubeney as a lens through which to destabilise dominant narratives about the post-War 'foreign revelation' and the West End/Other binary. I provided a historical analysis of the WTS as an institution, addressing its spaces, structures, practices, finances and discourses. This chapter represents the first in-depth study of the WTS as an institution and draws on primary archival research and new interviews with a range of theatre practitioners. It also works to establish the framework within which WTS productions were performed, seen and understood.

In Chapter Two, I turned to the first case study of visiting productions with the aim of tracing the significant role played by the WTS in shaping British repertoires and practices. This chapter addressed the Núria Espert Company's visits with *The Maids*

and *Yerma* and showcased the WTS's contribution to Anglo-Spanish relations, as well as its longstanding impact on programming, models of direction, design and acting. I argued that the productions reimagined Genet and Lorca within avant garde performance practice, and I traced their influence on British stages. By tracing patterns of influence between these productions and subsequent revivals at the RSC, the Young Vic and the Greenwich Theatre, I demonstrated García and Espert's contribution to the shift of authority from playwright and text to director, designer and actor, influencing the practice of directors and programmers such as Frank Dunlop, Terry Hands, Ewan Hooper and David Lan; designers such as Daphne Dare, David Hersey and Yolanda Sonnabend; and actresses such as Glenda Jackson, Estelle Kohler and Helen Mirren. My consideration of post-WTS return visits by the company and by García and Espert as independent practitioners, demonstrated their significance in instigating long-term interest in and engagement with Hispanic theatre and culture in the UK.

In Chapter Three, I attended to the WTS's engagement with Eastern European theatre practice, focusing on the work of Svoboda and Wajda. By drawing out the influence of Svoboda's scenography on designers Koltai, Pilbrow and Hersey, as well as his subsequent work with directors Dexter and Olivier, this chapter demonstrated how the WTS gave weight to emerging models of scenography and fostered international scenographic networks during the Cold War. My analysis of Wajda's stage practice addressed his productions of *The Possessed* and *November Night* and mapped out his influence on repertoires and on models of direction and design on the British stage. This chapter sought to position Wajda's theatre practice

alongside his widely-appreciated work in film, demonstrating how a critical understanding of his work across both art forms provides a richer portrait of his influence as an artist on understandings of Polish history, politics and culture in the UK during the Cold War.

In Chapter Four I addressed the Negro Ensemble Company's *Song of a Lusitanian Bogey* and the Natal Theatre Workshop Company's *uMabatha*, productions whose reception and legacies reveal anxieties about colonialism and racism in the UK in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The NEC's legacy can be traced in playwriting, through influence on Brown and Matura; programming and repertoire, through return visits to the EIF and the American Festival in London; and in the formation of some of the UK's earliest black identity companies, such as the Drum Art Centre and the Black Theatre Cooperative (now Nitro), whose working practices and repertoires were shaped by knowledge of and encounters with the NEC.

uMabatha's legacy can be traced in subsequent challenges to naturalistic performance paradigms for Elizabethan drama in Britain, such as the work of Hands at the RSC; in expanded understandings of who the canon and the theatre were for, seen in Talawa's work; and in the later institutionalisation of 'World' theatre projects at Shakespeare's Globe.

These case study chapters expanded my portrait of the WTS as an institution by offering in-depth production and reception analysis, and traced tangible examples of legacy through the lens of selective productions and practitioners. These chapters have uncovered rich lineages of influence, evidencing the WTS's profound and long-term influence on the British stage. They have traced its impact on the

practices of diverse practitioners, such as directors Yvonne Brewster, John Dexter, Frank Dunlop, David Gothard, Peter Hall, Terry Hands, Ewan Hooper, Trevor Nunn and Laurence Olivier; designers, Daphne Dare, David Hersey, Pamela Howard, Ralph Koltai, Michael Levine, Richard Pilbrow, and Yolanda Sonnabend; actors Estelle Kohler, Helen Mirren, Glenda Jackson and Tim Pigott-Smith; and playwrights Ian Brown and Mustapha Matura.

In the following, I demonstrate how Peter and Molly Daubeny and the WTS played a significant role in establishing an international presence as a regular part of the UK theatre landscape and explore how the contacts cultivated by the Daubenys during the WTS years continued to shape international programming on UK stages post-1975. I summarise points of influence on key institutions and practitioners, and identify others that are beyond the scope of this thesis and indicate the potential for further study.

As I have demonstrated throughout, the WTS had significant immediate and long-term impact on RSC working and artistic practices and influenced the subsequent careers of several key RSC practitioners. In Chapter One I argued that consideration of the WTS and its relationship with the RSC reveals much about the RSC's aims and ambitions as a nascent company. WTS programming gave a regular, high-profile platform to state-funded ensembles, giving weight to Hall's campaign for increased public subsidy to the arts and to his efforts to establish an ensemble company in the UK. The WTS also influenced RSC repertoires. In Chapter Two I presented the Núria Espert Company's production of *The Maids* as the impetus behind Hands' revival of Genet's *The Balcony*, and in Chapter Three I indicated that the Polish

Contemporary Theatre's production of Mrożek's *What a Lovely Dream* inspired the English-language premiere of a Mrożek play in the UK, *Tango*, directed by Trevor Nunn. Further examples of WTS influence on RSC programming include a staging of *The Government Inspector* in 1966 after the Moscow Art Theatre's Gogol production in 1964 and a production of Boucicault's *London Assurance* in 1970 after the Abbey Theatre production of *The Shaughraun* in 1968. Hall also invited international directors to stage productions at the RSC after their appearance at the WTS. For example, in 1967 the Greek director Karolous Koun directed *Romeo and Juliet* at Stratford-upon-Avon, after his productions with the Greek Art Theatre in 1964 and 1965 (he also returned to the WTS in 1967 and 1969). Italian director Giorgio de Lullo was also invited to direct at RSC in 1968 after his productions with the Compagnia dei Giovani in 1965 and 1966.¹

In Chapters Two and Four I highlighted the influence of García and Msomi's work on Hand's directorial practice. Hands also presented a production of *Romeo and Juliet* with the Comédie-Française at the 1973 WTS, a collaboration that came about as a direct result of Daubeny's contacts.² Subsequent to his position as RSC director, Hands worked as consultant director at the Comédie-Française between 1975 and 1980, an appointment that was followed by work at Burg Theater in Vienna. Hands reflects, 'one thing led to another but the origin was Peter Daubeny and the World Theatre Season',³ positioning Daubeny and the WTS a significant factor in the development of his prolific career as an international director.

¹ 'Cues', *Plays and Players*, January 1967, p. 9

² Terry Hands, Interview with Author, 05 November 2015

³ Ibid.

The repertoires and artistic practices of the NT under Olivier were also shaped by the WTS. In addition to the influence of Svoboda, outlined in Chapter Three, many practitioners showcased at the WTS were invited to present work at the NT. In 1966, Jacques Charon was invited to direct Feydeau's *A Flea in her Ear* at the NT following the success of his WTS production of *Un fil à la patte* with the Comédie-Française in 1964. In 1970, two years after Ingmar Bergman's production of *Hedda Gabler* was performed at the WTS, the play was reproduced for the NT with Bergman directing Maggie Smith in the title role. Designer René Allio collaborated with director William Gaskill for productions of *The Beaux Strategem* and *The Recruiting Officer* in 1970, after Allio's work was showcased at the WTS in 1968 with the Théâtre de France and in 1969 with the Théâtre de la Cité. The influence on the NT's repertoire is also visible in the 1966 revival of O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*, following the Abbey's production in 1964, the dramatization of Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot* in 1970 after the Leningrad Gorky Theatre's production at the WTS in 1966, and the first UK staging of a Pirandello play with *The Rules of the Game* in 1971, after Italy's Compagnia dei Giovani brought their production of the same play in 1966.

In his role as NT Artistic Director,⁴ Hall recognised Molly Daubeny as a valuable advisor, inviting her to work with him as consultant on theatre companies from abroad. Between 1976 and 1977, she organised the first visits from an international company to the new NT on London's South Bank.⁵ The Théâtre National Populaire

⁴ Peter Hall was Artistic Director of the National Theatre between 1973 and 1988

⁵ The building on the South Bank opened on 25 October 1976

brought productions of *Tartuffe* and *La Dispute* in November 1976⁶ and the Núria Espert Company returned with *Divinas palabras* (*Divine Words*) in 1977.⁷ This ongoing engagement with international work at the NT demonstrates the WTS's influence on programming and repertoires at one of the most high-profile stages in the UK, foregrounding Molly Daubeny's role in safeguarding the WTS's legacy.

Producer Thelma Holt has spent her career promoting international companies and directors on UK stages, and has acknowledged the influence of Daubeny and the WTS on that decision. As a young actress, she took inspiration from her encounter with the Moscow Art Theatre in 1958, describing that visit as '*the moment*'⁸ [emphasis in the original] and she recalls going to the WTS every year. She started programming international work in her role as Artistic and Executive Director at the Roundhouse from 1977, inviting Josef Szanja from Poland, the Pickle Family Circus from the US, Circus Oz from Australia, Antoine Vitez from France, and the Rustaveli Theatre Company from Georgia.⁹

Holt drew on Molly Daubeny's contacts and expertise in her role as Head of Touring and Commercial Exploitation at the NT, which she assumed in 1985.¹⁰ She organized two international seasons at the NT in 1987 and 1989 and recalls that

⁶ *Tartuffe*, 17–20 November 1976; *La Dispute*, 23–27 November 1976. Production Files for *Tartuffe* and *La Dispute*, National Theatre, 1976, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance

⁷ *Divinas palabras*, 13–25 June 1977. Production File for *Divinas palabras*, National Theatre, 1977, V&A Department of Theatre and Performance. See Chapter Two for further details

⁸ Ibid

⁹ http://www.thelmaholt.co.uk/THELMAHOLT_Career_prior_to_ThelmaHoltLtd.htm [accessed 05 December 2017]

¹⁰ http://www.thelmaholt.co.uk/THELMAHOLT_Career_prior_to_ThelmaHoltLtd.htm [accessed 05 December 2017]

Molly Daubeny 'came to the National and advised'.¹¹ INTERNATIONAL 87 comprised a series of four visits to the NT from Berlin's Schaubühne with a production of Eugene O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape*, directed by Peter Stein; Stockholm's Royal Drama Theatre with a production of *Miss Julie* by August Strindberg and *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, both directed by Ingmar Bergman; Tokyo's Ninagawa Company with *Macbeth* by Shakespeare and *Medea* by Euripides, directed by Yukio Ninagawa; and Moscow's Mayakovsky Theatre Company with *Tomorrow was War*.¹² Holt received the Olivier/*Observer* Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Theatre and a special award from *Drama Magazine* for this season. This was followed by INTERNATIONAL 89, a second series of four visits by international theatre companies: *Tango Varsoviano*, by Buenos Aires's Teatro del Sur; *The Grapes of Wrath*, by Chicago's Steppenwolf Theatre Company; *Uncle Vanya*, by the Moscow Art Theatre; and *Suicide for Love*, a return visit from the Ninagawa Theatre Company.¹³ Some of these programming decisions directly reveal Daubeny's influence, such as the Moscow Art Theatre and the Royal Dramatic Theatre, which were introduced to the British stage by Daubeny in 1958 and 1968 respectively. Holt remembered that Molly Daubeny's advice was particularly useful in relation to the Russian companies. She also recalled Molly Daubeny giving her 'the best piece of advice' when she experienced her first cancellation, saying, 'I'm telling you what Peter would have said, because it happened all the time: just go and get something else'.¹⁴ Holt reflects, 'it just needed somebody to press the button rather than think

¹¹ Thelma Holt, Interview with Author, 13 June 2014

¹² http://www.thelmaholt.co.uk/THELMAHOLT_Career_prior_to_ThelmaHoltLtd.htm [accessed 05 December 2017]

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Thelma Holt, Interview with Author, 13 June 2014

the man that does it is dead',¹⁵ positioning herself as representing a continuation of Daubeny's international initiatives. Holt continues to present international companies on British stages with her own company, Thelma Holt Ltd, founded in 1990, including most recently, a return of the Ninagawa production of *Macbeth* to the Barbican in October 2017.¹⁶

Repertoires at the Young Vic, the Greenwich Theatre, the Riverside Studios and on the West End were also notably shaped by the WTS. As outlined in Chapter Two, the Núria Espert Company's visits provided the impetus behind revivals of *The Maids* at the Young Vic in 1972 and at the Greenwich Theatre in 1973.

Programming at the Greenwich Theatre was particularly influenced by the WTS's internationalism. The theatre was founded in 1969 and the WTS had a formative influence on Artistic Director Ewan Hooper's aims and ambitions for the venue. By 1972, he was programming small-scale international theatre seasons to complement the WTS and drawing attention to the parallels in its publicity materials. As outlined in Chapter Two, the WTS was also formative for director David Gothard and his vision for programming at the Riverside Studios, founded in 1976. In the years following the WTS, Gothard programmed companies and practitioners from Poland, Japan, the US, Germany, Spain, France, Australia, India and Palestine among others. Gothard has overtly recognised the influence of the WTS and Daubeny, but its influence has also been recognised by other practitioners, such as Joseph Seelig, founder and director of the London

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ <https://www.barbican.org.uk/whats-on/2017/event/ninagawa-company-macbeth?ID=21166> [accessed 06 December 2017]

International Mime Festival, who observed that, 'Gothard made Riverside into the World Theatre Season'.¹⁷ On the West End, the Piccolo Theatre of Milan's production of Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters* in 1967 was followed by a West End staging of the classic comedy, starring Tommy Steele as Arlecchino.

The WTS also had a profound impact on the international theatre programming at the EIF. Before the WTS began, the theatrical strand of EIF programming had mainly presented companies from France, as well as single appearances of companies from Germany, Canada, Italy and Australia.¹⁸ From 1965 onwards, a year after the WTS began, there is marked diversification, with companies from the US, Greece, Russia, Poland, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Japan and Sweden being invited to present their work. This suggests that the WTS proved the impetus for more ambitious international theatre programming, an observation that is given further weight by direct examples of influence. Those examples include visits from the Abbey Theatre, which appeared at the EIF in 1968 after visits to the WTS in 1964 and 1968; the Theatre on the Balustrade, which appeared at the EIF in 1969, after visits to the WTS in 1967 and 1968; and the Noh Theatre of the Hosho Company, which appeared at the EIF in 1972, after the WTS had introduced Noh to the British stage five years earlier. This influence was formally recognised under the directorship of

¹⁷ Joseph Seelig, Interview with Author, 19 October 2015

¹⁸ La Compagnie Juvet de Théâtre de l'Athénée in 1947; La Compagnie Renaud-Barrault in 1948; Düsseldorf Theatre Company in 1949; Le Théâtre de l'Atelier in 1951; Le Théâtre National Populaire and La Compagnie de Mime Marcel Marceau in 1953; La Comédie-Française in 1954; La Compagnie Edwige Feuillère in 1955; The Stratford Ontario Festival Company and the Piccolo Teatro, Milan in 1956; La Compagnie Renaud-Barrault in 1957; Perth Repertory Theatre in 1959; La Compagnie Roger Planchon in 1960. For more information on Edinburgh International Festival programmes, see Eileen Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival: 1947-1996* (Hants, UK: Scholar Press, 1996), pp. 159-327

Frank Dunlop, whose directorial practice had been influenced by the WTS and who organised a tribute to its enduring impact on his work by reformulating the international theatre strand of EIF programming as a 'World Theatre Season' and inviting back several companies that were first introduced to the British stage at the WTS.

After 1975 new international festivals emerged, including the London International Mime Festival (LIMF), founded by Joseph Seelig in 1977, and the London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT), founded by Rose Fenton and Lucy Neal in 1981. The precedent set by the WTS proved particularly productive for the latter. Fenton and Neal invited Molly Daubeny to become their patron and was described by Neal as LIFT's first 'key champion'.¹⁹ She invited Fenton and Neal to parties at her home, which Fenton recognised gave them 'credibility within the theatre Establishment who admired what Peter had done'.²⁰ Although Fenton and Neal were clear that the WTS was not the initial impetus behind LIFT,²¹ they suggest that it was significant to have Molly Daubeny on side as 'a blessing from history'.²² Neal recalls that it had proved particularly useful to learn from Molly Daubeny and from reading Daubeny's obituaries 'that somebody had struggled, as we were struggling',²³ particularly in relation to funding. Like Daubeny, Fenton and Neal were faced with an Arts Council that was resistant to funding international work on

¹⁹ Rose Fenton and Lucy Neal, Interview with Author, 04 December 2015

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Fenton and Neal recognise a student festival at the University of Coimbra in Portugal as their inspiration. For more information see, Rose de Wend Fenton and Lucy Neal, eds, *The Turning World: Stories from the London International Festival of Theatre* (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2005), pp. 15-16

²² Rose Fenton and Lucy Neal, Interview with Author, 04 December 2015

²³ Ibid.

British stages.²⁴ Although they took LIFT in a different direction to the WTS, particularly in relation to its festival and multi-site format, Neal suggested that it had ‘absolutely the same spirit running through but manifested in a different way for different times’.²⁵ Barbican International Theatre Events (BITE) exhibits that same spirit, featuring international practice as a prominent part of the Barbican Centre’s programming since 1998. It is notable that this international initiative began while the RSC was a resident company at the Barbican Centre, a pattern of influence that connects the WTS to BITE via the RSC.

In his ‘Afterword’ to Daubeny’s autobiography, Ronald Bryden suggests ‘there *are* reasons justifying Peter Daubeny’s labours, but they are scattered and diffuse, noticeable over the long run of subsequent British theatrical activity’²⁶ [emphasis in the original]. With the benefit of a long-term view, this project has aimed to collate and give shape to these ‘scattered and diffuse’ pieces of evidence. Given the limitations of a project of this size and scope, I chose to address the work and legacy of five out of forty-eight visiting companies in depth. Within the parameters of my investigations, I cannot hope to do justice to all the richness and complexity of the WTS’s activities and influences on the British stage. In contributing an appendix, in which the WTS 11-year programme is compiled in its entirety for the first time, and by publishing a catalogue of the Peter Daubeny World Theatre Season Collection at the V&A, I hope that this project will prove the foundation for further studies. These might consider individual productions, practitioners and

²⁴ Naseem Khan, ‘London: Building from Below’, in Fenton and Neal, pp. 61-71 (p. 67)

²⁵ Rose Fenton and Lucy Neal, Interview with Author, 04 December 2015

²⁶ Ronald Bryden, ‘Afterword’ in Daubeny 1971, pp. 335-339 (p.336)

companies at the WTS, post-War networks of international theatre, histories of international theatre in the UK, or an expansion of current histories of the RSC and the EIF.

One of this project's key contributions is to embed the WTS into post-War British theatre history and to demonstrate the plethora of ways in which theatre in the UK has developed alongside and in dialogue with international performance practices. By unearthing histories such as these and developing more heterogeneous understandings of what constitutes 'British' performance culture, this project hopes to go some way to combatting the post-Brexit 'retreat into pessimism'²⁷ forewarned by Mark Ball. It instead aims to contribute to the processes of imagining 'a new future'²⁸ for the relationship between British and international stages.

²⁷ <http://www.theatrevoice.com/audio/brexit-stage-international-programming/> [accessed 27 November 2017]

²⁸ Ibid.

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Divinas palabras, National Theatre, 1977

Dom Juan, Palace Theatre, 1956

Doña Rosita la soltera, Edinburgh International Festival, 1983

God is a (Guess What?), Aldwych Theatre, 1969

The House of Bernarda Alba, Greenwich Theatre, 1973

The House of Bernarda Alba, Lyric Hammersmith, 1986

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The Insect Play, Aldwych Theatre, 1966

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The Maids, New Lindsey Theatre, 1956

The Maids, Aldwych Theatre, 1971

The Maids and Deathwatch, Young Vic, 1972

The Maids, Greenwich Theatre, 1974

Marat/Sade, Aldwych Theatre, 1964

Nastasia Filipovna, Riverside Studios, 1983

November Night, Aldwych Theatre, 1975

The Possessed, Aldwych Theatre, 1972-1973

The Possessed, Almeida Theatre, 1985

Rosario and Antonio, Cambridge Theatre, 1951

R.U.R., St. Martin's Theatre, 1923

Rusalka, Edinburgh International Festival, 1964

A Soldier's Play, Edinburgh International Festival, 1984

Songs and Dances of Spain, Stoll Theatre, 1952

Songs and Poetry from Spain, Riverside Studios, 1979

Song of a Lusitanian Bogey, Aldwych Theatre, 1969

Tamburlaine the Great, Swan Theatre, 1992

Three Sisters, National Theatre, 1967

Three Sisters, Aldwych Theatre, 1969

Le Triomphe de l'Amour, Palace Theatre, 1956

Trumpets and Drums, Palace Theatre, 1956

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Appendix

World Theatre Season, Aldwych Theatre, 1964 - 1975

The following information has been compiled from production programmes held in the Production Files at the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance. Information is presented as it appears in the programmes and includes companies, dates, production titles and key cast and creatives.

Theatre/Company	Dates	Production Title	Cast and Creatives
17 March – 13 June 1964 (13 weeks)			
Comédie-Française	17 – 26 March	<i>Tartuffe</i> , by Molière	Director - Louis Seigner Cast - Louis Seigner, Jacques Charon, François Chaumette, Bernard Dhéran, Michel Aumont, René Camoin, Michel Bernardy, Annie Ducaux, Lise Delamare, Denise Gence, Michèle Andre, Maria Fromet
		<i>Un Fil à la Patte</i> , by Georges Feydeau	Director - Jacques Charon Set and Costume Designer - Andre Levasseur Cast - Jacques Charon, Robert Hirsch, Paul-Emile Deiber, Jacques Sereys, Jean-Paul Roussillon, Michel Aumont, René Camoin, Alain Feydeau, Michel Duchaussoy, Micheline Boudet, Denise Gence, Catherine Samie, Françoise Kanel, Marthe Alycia, Paule Noëlle, Maria Fromet
Schiller Theater	30 March – 4 April	<i>Andorra</i> , by Max Frisch	Director - Fritz Kortner

			Set and Costume Designer - Hans Heinrich Palitzsch Music - Kurt Heuser Cast - Klaus Kammer, Heidemarie Theobald, Martin Held, Charlotte Joeres, Ruth Hausmeister, Wilhelm Borchert, Helmut Wildt, Ernst Sattler, Fritz Eberth, Fritz Tillmann, Holger Kepich, Kurt Buecheler, Joseph Noerden, Kurt Weitkamp, Paul Gorden
		<i>Clavigo</i> , by Johann Wolfgang Goethe	Director and Designer - Willi Schmidt Cast - Klaus Kammer, Erich Schellow, Dieter Ranspach, Karin Remsing, Sibylle Gilles, Kurt Bücheler, Jürgen Thormann, Rudolf Brandt, Georg Völkel, Sven Holm
Peppino De Filippo's Italian Theatre	7 – 18 April	<i>Metamorphoses of a Wandering Minstrel</i> , by Peppino De Filippo	Director, Designer and Music - Peppino De Filippo Costumes - Franco Laurenti Cast - Peppino De Filippo, Lidia Martora, Angela Pagano, Mario Siletti, Enzo Petito, Lia Rho Barbieri, Dori Cei, Giacomo Rondinella, Luigi De Filippo, Gigi Reder, Pino Ferrara, Enzo Donzelli, Carlo Pennetti, Pietro Carloni, Donatello Falchi, Ann Patricia De Filippo, Maria Grani, Igea Sonni, Edoardo Torricella, Enzo Donzelli
Abbey Theatre	21 April – 2 May	<i>Juno and the Paycock</i> , by Sean O'Casey	Director - Frank Dermody Set Designer - Tomas MacAnna Lighting Designer - Leslie Scott

			Cast - Philip Flynn, Maire O'Donnell, Pat Laffan, Aideen O'Kelly, Harry Brogan, Eileen Crowe, May Craig, Vincent Dowling, William Foley, Michael Hennessy, Peter Lambe, Michael O'Brien, Edward Golden, Maire O'Neill, Geraldine Plunkett, Geoffrey Golden, Eoin O'Sullivan, Desmond Cave, Donal McCann
		<i>The Plough and the Stars</i> , by Sean O'Casey	Director - Frank Dermody Set Designer - Tomas MacAnna Lighting Designer - Leslie Scott Cast - William Foley, Kathleen Barrington, Eric Gorman, Vincent Dowling, Eileen Crowe, Aideen O'Kelly, Geraldine Plunkett, Philip Flynn, Pat Laffan, Geoffrey Golden, Pat Layde, Edward Golden, Angela Newman, Michael O'Brien, Michael Hennessy
Polish Contemporary Theatre	4 – 9 May	<i>What a Lovely Dream with Let's Have Fun</i> , by Sławomir Mrożek	Director - Konrad Swinarski Designers - Ewa Starowieyska and Konrad Swinarski Music - Edward Pallasz Cast - Mieczysław Pawlikowski, Henryk Borowski, Barbara Wrzesinska, Mieczysław Czechowicz, Tadeusz Surowa, Wiesław Michnikowski
		<i>The Life Annuity</i> , by Aleksander Fredro	Director - Jerzy Kreczmar Designer - Ewa Starowieyska Cast - Andrzej Lapicki, Zbigniew Zapasiewicz, Tadeusz Surowa, Marta Lipinska, Tadeusz

			Lomnicki, Tadeusz Fijewski, Wieslaw Michnikowski, Jozef Konieczny, Mieczyslaw Czechowicz, Eugeniusz Poreda, Mieczyslaw Pawlikowski, Marian Friedmann, Andrzej Szenajch, Jan Skotnicki, Kazimierz Rudzki, Marian Friedmann, Jan Wesolowski, Jozef Kondrat
Greek Art Theatre	12 – 23 May	<i>The Birds</i> , by Aristophanes Translated and adapted by Vassilis Rotas	Director - Karolos Koun Set and Costume Designer - Yannis Tsarouchis Music - Manos Hadjidakis Choreography - Zouzou Nicoloudi Cast - Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Thymios Karakatsanis, Yannis Mortzos, Nikos Kouros, Spyros Kalogirou, Minas Christidis, Stelios Kafkaridis, Alecos Oudinotis, Yannis Kontoulis, Costas Aristopoulos, Maya Lyberopoulou, Sophia Michopoulou, Jenny Gaitanopoulou, Nicos Charalambous, Thymios Karakatsanis, Kostas Kazakos, Costas Styliaris, Christos Mantzaris, Haris Goumas, Giorgos Lazanis, Mimis Kouyoumdjis, Nektarios Vouteris, Nicos Charalambous, Theodorus Tentis, Savas Tzanetakos, Giorgos Moutsios, Zouzou Nikoloudi, Inge Radeke, Andreas Peris, Giorgos Soutas, Haris Mantaounis, Antonis Gargasoulas, Antonis Katsaridis, Antonis Antipas, Ekali Sokou, Despina Bebedeli, Evangelia Kotamanidou, Antigoni Moutoussi

Moscow Art Theatre	26 May – 13 June	<i>Dead Souls</i> , by Nikolai Gogol Dramatized from the original prose poem by Mikhail Bulgakov	Director - K. S. Stanislavsky reproduced by V. G. Sakhnovsky and E. G. Telesheva Designer - V. A. Simov Cast - V. V. Belokourov, M. M. Yanshin, Z. R. Smulko, L. F. Zolotoukin, Y. V. Stanitsin, D. I. Shoutov, G. G. Konski, N. P. Larin, A. V. Zhiltsov, S. N. Garrel, I. M. Rayevsky, B. A. Smirnov, A. M. Komissarov, M. I. Proudkin, E. D. Stroyeva, M. N. Kedrov, G. I. Kalinovskaya, A. N. Gribov, B. N. Livanov, N. S. Kondratyev, B. Y. Petker, N. A. Shavykin, S. S. Pilyavskaya
		<i>The Cherry Orchard</i> , by Anton Chekhov	Director - Victor Y. Stanitsin Set and Costume Designer - L. N. Silitch Cast - A. K. Tarasova, L. G. Katchanova, T. I. Lennikova, P. V. Massalsky, V. V. Belokourov, L. I. Goubanov, M. M. Yanshin, A. I. Stepanova, A. M. Komissarov, K. I. Rostovtseva, A. N. Gribov, Y. L. Leonidov, G. G. Konski, Z. R. Smulko, N. P. Larin
		<i>Kremlin Chimes</i> , by Nikolai Pogodin	Directors - V. I. Nemirovitch-Dantchenko, L. M. Leonidov, M. O. Knebel, I. M. Rayevsky, V. P. Markov Designer - V. V. Dmitriyev Cast - B. A. Smirnov, V. P. Markov, L. F. Zolotoukin, B. N. Livanov, A. K. Tarasova, S. S. Pilyavskaya, M. V. Anastasyeva, D. I. Shoutov, L. I. Goubanov, A. P. Zouyeva, T. A. Zabrodina, A. A. Goryunova, T. G. Poushkina, N. A. Shavykin, Z. R. Smoulko, V. V.

			Belokourov, V. G. Petrov, G. P. Shostko, O. N. Labzina, A. I. Stepanova, S. N. Garrel, N. K. Svobodin, Y. L. Leonidov, T. I. Lennikova, N. P. Larin, K. K. Gradopolov, Z. R. Smoulko, P. V. Massalsky, K. I. Rostovtseva, B. Y. Petker, M. I. Proudkin, O. N. Labzina, L. I. Goubanov, A. V. Zhiltsov, G. G. Konski, N. P. Larin, T. I. Lennikova, A. M. Komissarov, N. A. Shavykin
22 March – 22 May 1965 (9 weeks)			
Théâtre de France	22 March - 3 April	<i>Andromaque</i> , by Jean Racine	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Designer - Bernard Daydé Cast - Maria Mauban, Jean Desailly, Jean-Louis Barrault, Geneviève Page, Henri Gilabert, Christiane Carpentier, Annie Bertin, Jean-Roger Tandou
		<i>Le Piéton de L'air</i> , by Eugène Ionesco	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Designer - Jacques Noël Music - Georges Delerue Special effects – Guy Bert Cast - Jean-Louis Barrault, Madeleine Renaud, Dominique Arden, Pierre Gallon, Jean-Roger Tandou, Anne Doat, Benjamin Boda, Robert Lombard, Jane Martel, Sylviane Margollé, Dominique Santarelli, Alice Reichen, Christiane Carpentier, René Barre, Michel Bertay, Jean-Pierre Moreux, Victor Begniard, Joseph Falcucci

		<i>Ne te promène donc pas toute nue</i> , by Georges Feydeau	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Designer - Félix Labisse Cast - Robert Lombard, Jean Desailly, Madeleine Renaud, Pierre Bertin, Michel Bertay
		<i>Le Soulier de satin</i> , by Paul Claudel	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Designer - Lucien Coutaud Music - Arthur Honegger Cast - Jean-Louis Barrault, Pierre Gallon, Jean-Roger Tandou, Pierre Bertin, Geneviève Page, Jean-Pierre Bernard, Jane Martel, André Weber, Henri Nassiet, Georges Sellier, Sami Frey, Jean-Pierre Granval, Maddly Bamy, André Batisse, Dominique Arden, Jean-Guy Henneveux, Guy Moigne, Michel Bertay, Christiane Carpentier, Pierre Gallon, André Weber, Madeleine Renaud, François Helie, Jean Winckler, Dominique Santarelli, Georges Coste, Michel Favory
		<i>Oh! Les beaux jours</i> , by Samuel Beckett	Director - Roger Blin Designer - Matias Cast - Madeleine Renaud, Jean-Louis Barrault
Compagnia dei Giovani	5 – 10 April	<i>La Bugiarda</i> , by Diego Fabbri	Director - Giorgio De Lullo Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi Cast - Rossella Falk, Italia Marchesini, Romolo Valli, Elsa Albani, Carlo Giuffrè, Ferruccio de Ceresa, Salvatore Puntillo, Piero Sammataro, Luigi Durissi

		<i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i> , by Luigi Pirandello	<p>Director - Giorgio De Lullo</p> <p>Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi</p> <p>Cast - Romolo Valli, Elsa Albani, Rossella Falk, Piero Sammataro, Claudio Figna, Patrizia Ponzelli, Gabriella Gabrielli, Ferruccio de Ceresa, Nora Ricci, Carlo Giuffrè, Italia Marchesini, Isabella Guidotti, Italo Dall'Orto, Sebastiano Calabro, Anna Saia, Salvatore Puntillo, Luigi Durissi, Luigi Battaglia, Domenico de Angelis, Aldo Gasparrini</p>
Greek Art Theatre	12 – 24 April	<i>The Birds</i> , by Aristophanes Translated and adapted by Vassilis Rotas	<p>Director - Karolos Koun</p> <p>Designer - Yannis Tsarouchis</p> <p>Music - Manos Hadjidakis</p> <p>Choreography - Zouzou Nicoloudi</p> <p>Cast - Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Thymios Karakatsanis, Yannis Mortzos, Nikos Kourous, Spyros Kalogirou, Minas Christidis, Stelios Kafkaridis, Timos Perlengas, Anthinodoros Prousalis, Maya Lyberopoulou, Sophia Michopoulou, Jenny Gaitanopoulou, Mikos Charalambous, Minas Christidis, Haris Goumas, Polikarpos Polikarpou, Giorgos Lazanis, Mimis Kouyoumdjis, Nektarios Vouteris, Costas Aristopoulos, Dimitris Asteriadis, Nicos Charalambous, Yiannis Degaitis, Antonis Antoniou, Nikos Bousdoukos, Yannis Degaitis, Antonis Katsaridis, Ilias Logothetis, Antonis Theodorakopoulos, Charalambos Timotheou,</p>

			Yannis Totsikas, Zouzou Nikoloudi, Katerina Karayanni, Evangelia Kotamanidou, Antigoni Moutoussi
		<i>The Persians</i> , by Aeschylus Translated by Panos Moulas	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Yannis Tsarouchis Music - Yannis Christou Cast - Stelios Kafkaridis, Nelly Angelidou, Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Giorgos Lazanis, Spyros Kalogirou, Costas Aristopoulos, Nikos Kouros, Mimis Kouyoumdjis, Yannis Mortzos, Nikos Charalambous, Timos Perlengas, Costas Styliaris, Christos Tsangas, Nektarios Vouteris, Antonis Antipas, Antonis Antoniou, Nikos Bousdoukos, Yannis Degaitis, Antonis Katsaridis, Ilias Logothetis, Polikarpos Polikarpou, Antonis Theodorakopoulos
Habimah National Theatre	26 April – 1 May	<i>The Dybbuk</i> , by Saloman Anski Translated by H. N. Bialik	Directors - I. Vahktangov, reproduced by Zvi Friedland Designers - N. Altman, reproduced by Joseph Carl Cast - Haim Amitai, Shraga Friedman, Israel Rubintzik, Nachum Buchman, Jehuda Efroni, Nissim Azikri, Ari Kutai, Shoshana Duer, Shmuel Rudenski, Eva Lion, Bat-Ami, Ada Tal, Tikva Mor, Shmuel Segal, Abraham Ninio, Amnon Meskin, Raphael Klatzkin, Daphna Salant, Yael Drujanov, Hana Hendler, Elisheva Michaeli, Shlomo Bar-Shavit, Baruch David, Shimon Finkel, Zvi Friedland

Actors Studio Theatre	3 – 22 May	<i>Blues for Mister Charlie</i> , by James Baldwin	Director - Burgess Meredith Designer and Lighting - Feder Cast - Frankie Brown, Al Freeman, Jr., Ralph Waite, David Baldwin, Hilda Haynes, Bernard Ward, Clyde Williams, Otis Young, Sam Laws, Beverley Todd, Hilda Brawner, Percy Rodriguez, Larry Blyden, Joan Potter, Maya Kenin, Pete Masterson, Joe Don Baker, Janice Mars, Delos V. Smith, Jr., Pete Masterson, David Paulsen, John Harkins, Ted Butler, Helen Ferguson, Lincoln Kilpatrick, Mara Kim Musicians - Grachan Moncur III, Brooks Morton
		<i>The Three Sisters</i> , by Anton Chekhov Translated by Randall Jarrell	Director - Lee Strasberg Set Designer - Will Steven Armstrong Costume Designer - Theoni V. Aldredge and Ray Diffen Lighting - Feder Cast - Kim Stanley, Luther Adler, Robert Loggia, Tamara Daykarhanova, Salem Ludwig, Brooks Morton, Janice Mars, George C. Scott, Gerald Hiken, Albert Paulsen, John Harkins, David Paulsen, Delos V. Smith, Jr., James Tolkán, Hilda Brawner, Joan Potter, Pete Masterson, Sandy Dennis, Nan Martin, James Olson, Barbara Baxley Musicians – Janice Mars, Brooks Morton
21 March – 21 May 1966 (9 weeks)			

Czech National Theatre	21 - 26 March	<i>The Insect Play</i> , by Karel and Josef Čapek	<p>Director - Miroslav Machacek Designer - Josef Svoboda Costume Designer - Jan Skalicky Music - Zdenek Liska Choreographer - Pavel Smok Cast - Ladislav Pesek, Misoslav Dolezal, Marie Vasova, Jirina Petrovicka, Vit Olmer, Eduard Kohout, Martin Ruzek, Jaroslava Tvrznikova, Jaroslav Marvan, Jirina Sejbalo, Bohus Hradil, Josef Gruss, Eva Sirotkova, Josef Pehr, Nadezda Gajerova, Frantisek Filipovsky, Bohus Zahorsky, Sobeslav Sejk, Vladimir Kudla, Borivoj Navratil, Jan Zajic, Vaclav Svorc, Josef Velda, Vladimir Leraus, Stanislav Neumann, Milos Nesvadba, Marian Slojkowski, Jan Krzyzanowski, Zdzislaw Zazula, Wladyslaw Olszyn, Stefan Szramel, Jan Güntner, Juliusz Grabowski</p>
Compagnia dei Giovani	28 March – 9 April	<i>The Rules of the Game</i> , by Luigi Pirandello	<p>Director - Giorgio De Lullo Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi Cast - Romolo Valli, Rossella Falk, Carlo Guiffre, Salvatore Puntillo, Arnaldo Ninchi, Bruno Cirino, Piero Sammataro, Bruno Pomicino, Sebastiano Calabro, Italo Dall’Orto, Gabriella Gabrielli, Franca Lumachi, Pietro Tempestati</p>
		<i>Six Characters in Search of an Author</i> , by Luigi Pirandello	<p>Director - Giorgio De Lullo Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi</p>

			Cast - Romolo Valli, Elsa Albani, Rossella Falk, Piero Sammataro, Claudio Figna, Patrizia Ponzelli, Gabriella Gabrielli, Ferruccio de Ceresa, Franca Lumachi, Carlo Guiffre, Maria-Teresa Albani, Isabella Guidotti, Italo Dall'Orto, Sebastiano Calabro, Arnaldo Ninchi, Salvatore Puntillo, Luigi Durissi, Luigi Battaglia, Bruno Cirino, Alda Gasparrini
National Theatre of Greece	12 – 23 April	<i>Hecuba</i> , by Euripides Translated by Apostolos Melachrinou	Director - Alexis Minotis Set Designer - Cl. Clonis Costume Designer - Ant. Phokas Music - Katina Paxinou Choreography – Maria Hors Cast - Katina Paxinou, Thanos Livaditis, Elli Vozikiadou, Stelios Vocovits, Alexis Minotis, Vasilis Canakis, Thanos Cotsopoulos, Anna Raftopoulou, Vera Deliyanni, Heleni Zaphiriou, Kakia Panayotou, P. Capitsinea, O. Tournaki
		<i>Oedipus Rex</i> , by Sophocles Translated by Photos Politis	Director - Alexis Minotis Set Designer - Cl. Clonis Costume Designer - Ant. Phokas Cast - Alexis Minotis, Ghicas Biniaris, Thanos Cotsopoulos, Yannis Apostoldis, Katina Paxinou, Pandelis Zervos, Anghelos Yiannoulis, Stelios Vocovits, Vasilis Canakis, A. Deliyannis, N. Papaconstantinou, V. Papanicas, C. Coccakis

		<i>Oedipus at Colonus</i> , by Sophocles Translated by Ioannis Gryparis	Director - Alexis Minotis Set Designer - Cl. Clonis Costume Designer - Ant. Phokas Music - Menel. Pallandios Choreography - Maria Hors Cast - Alexis Minotis, Heleni Zaphiriou, Anghelos Yiannoulis, Kakia Panayotou, Vasilis Canakis, Yannis Apostoldis, Dimistris Malavetas, Stelios Vocovits, Alekos Deliyannis, N. Papaconstantinou, V. Papanicas, C. Coccakis, St. Papadakis, C. Cosmopoulos
Polish Popular Theatre	25 April – 7 May	<i>The Wedding</i> , by Stanisław Wyspiański Adapted by Adam Hanuszkiewicz	Director - Adam Hanuszkiewicz Designer - Adam Kilian Music - Kazimierz Serocki Cast - Seweryn Butrym, Elzbieta Wieczorkowska, Leszek Ostrowski, Zofia Kucona, Tadeusz Janczar, Eugeniusz Robaczewski, Malgorzata Lorentowicz, Maryla Pawlowska, Iga Cembrzynska, Maria Seroczynska, Teofila Koronkiewicz, Alicja Migulanka, Gustaw Lutkiewicz, Ewa Wawrzon, Adam Hanuszkiewicz, Tadeusz Waczkowski, Maria Garbowska, Wladyslaw Ebert, Aleksander Piotrowski, Mirosław Wojtulanis, Wiesława Mazurkiewicz, Janusz Bukowski
		<i>Crime and Punishment</i> , by Fyodor Dostoyevsky	Director - Adam Hanuszkiewicz Designer - Krzysztof Pankiewicz

		Adapted by Zygmunt Hubner and Adam Hanuszkiewicz	<p>Music - Augustyn Bloch</p> <p>Cast - Adam Hanuszkiewicz, Seweryn Butrym, Zofia Kucona, Juliusz Luszezewski, Elzbieta Wieczorkowska, Ludwik Michalowski, Mariusz Dmochowski, Teofila Koronkiewicz, Maria Garbowska, Aleksander Piotrowski, Edmund Karwanski, Leszek Otrowski, Tadeusz Czechowski, Czeslaw Byszewski, Gustaw Lutkiewicz, Czeslaw Jaroszynski, Maria Serocznska, Janusz Bukowski, Tadeusz Janczar</p>
		<p><i>The Colombus Boys: Warsaw 44-46</i>, by Roman Bratny</p> <p>Adapted by Adam Hanuszkiewicz</p>	<p>Director - Adam Hanuszkiewicz</p> <p>Designer - Krzysztof Pankiewicz</p> <p>Cast - Gustaw Lutkiewicz, Czeslaw Jaroszynski, Tadeusz Janczar, Tadeusz Czechowski, Eugeniusz Robaczewski, Jan Mayzel, Marek Wojciechowski, Stansilaw Mikulski, Iga Cembrzynska, Maryla Pawlowska, Ewa Wawrzon, Seweryn Butrym, Wladyslaw Ebert, Maria Garbowska, Emilia Krakowska, Ludwik Michalowski, Mariusz Dmochowski, Juliusz Luszczewski, Aleksander Piotrowski, Edmund Karwanski, Janusz Bukowski, Bogdan Lysakowski, Tadeusz Waczkowski, Jan Byszewski, Kazimierz Janusz, Mirosław Wojtulanis, Juliusz Luszczewski, Malgorzata Lorentowicz, Leszek Ostrowski, Lucyna Suchecka, Tadeusz Kazmierski, Maria Seroczynska, Czeslaw</p>

			Byszewski, Teofila Koronkiewicz, Janina Martini, Janina Nowicka
Leningrad Gorki Theatre	9 – 21 May	<i>The Idiot</i> , by Fyodor Dostoyevsky Adapted by G. A. Tovstonogov	Director - G. A. Tovstonogov Designer - Margarita Likhnitzkaya Music - Iosif Schwartz Cast - Innokenti Smoktunovsky, Yevgeni Lebedev, Tatyana Doronina, Vladislav Strzhelchik, Nina Olkhina, Yelena Nemchenko, Lyudmila Sapozhnikova, Tatyana Tarasova, Maria Prizvan-Sokolova, Oleg Borisov, Zinaida Sharko, Boris Ryzhukhin, Nikolai Trofimov, Sergei Yurskii, Kirill Lavrov, Yelena Agaronovna, Nikolai Korn, Lyudmila Makarova, Nikolai Dmitriev, Vsevolod Kuznetzov, Anatolii Garichev, Yevgenii Goryunov, Georgii Shtil, Vladimir Tatosov, Ivan Palmu
		<i>Grandma, Uncle Ilika, Hilarion and I</i> , by N. Dumbadze and G. Lordkipanidze Adapted by the Gorki Theatre	Director - Ruben S. Agaminzian Designer - I. G. Sumbatashvili Music - Revas Lagidze Cast - Vladimir Tatosov, Vyacheslav Varkin, Lyudmila Volynakaya, Sergei Yurskil, Yefim Kopelyan, Yelena Nemchenko, Georgii Shtil, Nikolai Trofimov, Boris Ryzhukhin, Nikolai Korn, Vsevolod Kuznetzov, Vladislav Strgenchik, Yevgenii Goryunov, Ivan Palmu, Kirill Lavrov,

			Anatolii Garichev, Oleg Borisov, Nikolai Dmitriev, Vladimir Retzepter, Yurii Shevchuk
27 March – 3 June 1967 (10 weeks)			
National Theatre of Poland	27 March – 1 April	<i>The Glorious Resurrection of Our Lord</i> , by Nicolas of Wilkowiecko Adapted by Kazimierz Dejmek	Director - Kazimierz Dejmek Designer - Andrzej Stopka Cast - Adam Mularczyk, Wladyslaw Krasnowiecki, Henryk Szletynski, Lech Ordon, Kazimierz Wichniarz, Zbigniew Krynski, Ignacy Machowski, Mieczyslaw Kalenik, Hanna Zembrzuska, Ewa Bonacka, Krystyna Kamienska, Joanna Walter, Barbara Fijewska, Grazyna Staniszezwska, Wojciech Siemion, Barbara Rachwalska, Kazimierz Opalinski, Polish National Theatre Boys' Choir
Comédie-Française	3 - 8 April	<i>Le Cid</i> , by Pierre Corneille	Director - Paul-Emile Deiber Designer - Andre Delfau Music - Marcel Landowski Cast - Maurice Escande, Paul-Emile Deiber, Michael Etcheverry, Louis Eymond, Marco Behar, Simon Eine, Jacques Destoop, Denise Noel, Claude Winter, Genevieve Casile, Berengere Dautun, Gerard Hirth
		<i>Le Jeu de l'Amour et du hasard</i> , by Pierre de Marivaux	Director - Maurice Escande Designer - Jacques Dupont Cast - Maurice Escande, Jean-Paul Roussillon, Jacques Toja, Marca Behar, Alain Feydeau, Claude Winter, Paule Noelle

		<i>Feu la mère de Madame</i> , by Georges Feydeau	Director - Jacques Charon Designer - Jean-Denis Malcles Cast - Jacques Charon, Michel Aumont, Micheline Boudet, Denise Gence
The Noh Theatre of Japan	10 - 22 April	Programme One – Play One: <i>Hagoromo (The Robe of Feathers)</i> , by Zeami, with <i>Bo Shibari (The Tied Servants)</i> , by Anonymous Play Two: <i>Tsuchi-Gumo (The Ground Spider)</i> , by Anonymous	Shite roles - Manzaburo Umewaka, Kyuma Hashioka, Makio Umewaka, Masaharu Umewaka, Hisaharu Hashioka Ji-utai roles - Kazuo Suzuki, Shunji Hara, Takashi Kato, Tamotsu Okuma Waki roles - Kenzo Matsumoto Hayashi (musicians): Ichiji Tanaka, Jiro Mori, Haruyoshi Watanabe, Shinichi Uno Kyogen Roles - Yataro Okura, Chuichiro Zenchiku, Takao Zenchiku
		Programme Two - Play One: <i>Kiku-Jido (The Chrysanthemum Child)</i> , by Anonymous, with <i>Kazumo (The Mosquito Wrestler)</i> , by Anonymous Play Two: <i>Aoi-No-Ue (Lady Aoi)</i> , by Zeami	
Bremen Theatre	24 – 29 April	<i>Spring Awakening</i> , by Frank Wedekind	Director - Peter Zadek Designer - Wilfried Minks Cast - Ellen Waldeck, Jutta Lampe, Judy Winter, Eberhard von Gagern, Margret Jahn, Vadim Glowna, Wolfgang Schenck, Bruno Ganz, Wolfgang Giese, Hans Peter Hallwachs, Helmut Düvelsdorf, Charles Lang, Jürgen Nola, Joachim Henschke, Knut Koch, Christiane Schröder, Ellen Esser, Iris Erdmann, Willy Röss, Gerd Teller, Kurt

			Zielke, Theo Staats, Hubert Kronlachner, Erich Keddy, Erwin Wirschaz, Sieghold Schröder, Alois Stempel, Ernst Rottluff, Georg Martin Bode, Uwe Karsten Koch, Joachim Preen, Kurt Hübner
		<i>Die Unberatenen</i> , by Thomas Valentin and Robert Muller	Director - Peter Zadek Designer - Wilfried Minks Cast - Hans Tügel, Ernst Rottluff, Hans Peter Hallwachs, Rudolf Jürgen Bartsch, Willy Röss, Erwin Wirschaz, Eberhard von Gagern, Rolf Becker, Bruno Ganz, Klaus Hentschel, Wolfgang Giese, Konstantin Paloff, Georg Martin Bode, Joachim Regelein, Knut Koch, Hartmuth Gehrke, Peter-Uwe Witt, Wolfgang Schneider, Helmut Düvelsdorf, Charles Lang, Hubert Kronlachner, Judy Winter, Sieghold Schröder, Annelore Kunze, Joachim Giese, Margaret Jahnen, Katharina Tüschel, Annegret Andressen, Edith Clever, Monica Hansen, Birgit Pausch, Astrid Windorf, Werner Rehm, Jan Geerd Buss
Cameri Theatre	1 – 6 May	<i>King Solomon and the Cobbler</i> , by Samuel Gronemann Adapted by Nathan Alterman	Director - Samuel Bunim Set Designer - Arie Navon Music - Alexander Argov Choreography - Anna Sokolov Cast - Illy Gorlitzky, Orna Porat, Rivka Raz, Yona Attari, Zalman Leviush, Yosef Yadin, Avraham Mor, Albert Cohen, Yosef Karmon, Miriam Gavrieli, Arie Kasviner, Yehuda Fuchs, Shimon

			Siani, Nira Adi, Nira Rabinovitz, Germaine Unikovski, Avraham Halfi, Ori Levi, Ido Mossinsohn, Nahum Shalit, Nisan Yatir
Greek Art theatre	8 – 20 May	<i>The Frogs</i> , by Aristophanes Translated by Kostas Stamatiou	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Chloe Georgaki Music - Yannis Christou Lighting - David Read Cast - Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Thymios Karakatsanis, Stelios Kafkaridis, Antonis Katsaridis, Spyros Kalogirou, Ekali Sokou, Sophia Michopoulou, Mina Adamaki, Yannis Mortzos, Vassilis Andronidis, Giorgos Lazanis, Mimis Kouyoumtjis, Nikos Charalambous, Nektarios Vouteris, Kostas Styliaris, Dimitris Asteriadis, Nikos Bousdoukos, Ilias Logothetis
		<i>The Birds</i> , by Aristophanes Translated and adapted by Vassilis Rotas	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Yannis Tsarouchis Music - Manos Hadjidakis Choreography - Zouzou Nicolaudi Lighting - David Read Cast - Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Thymios Karakatsanis, Yannis Mortzos, Vassilis Andronidis, Spyros Kalogirou, Nikos Charalambous, Stelios Kafkaridis, Vassilis Tsivilikas, Kostas Styliaris, Antonis Katsaridis, Maya Lyberopoulou, Sophia Michopoulou, Mary Vostandji, Giorgos Lazanis, Christos Kelantonis, Reni Pittaki, Christos

			Papakostas, Haris Goumas, Nektarios Vouteris, Dimitris Asteriadis, Maya Lyberopoulou, Katerina Karayanni, Evangelia Kotamanidou, Mina Adamaki, Ekali Sokou, Spyros Sakkas
		<i>The Persians</i> , by Aeschylus Translated by Panos Moulas	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Yannis Tsarouchis Music - Yannis Christou Lighting - David Read Cast - Stelios Kafkaridis, Nelly Angelidou, Stelios Kafkaridis, Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Giorgos Lazanis, Spyros Kalogirou, Nikos Charalambous, Nektarios Vouteris, Yannis Mortzos, Kostas Styliaris, Dimitris Asteriadis, Nikos Bousdoukos, Ilias Logothetis
Piccolo Theatre of Milan	22 - 27 May	<i>The Servant of Two Masters</i> , by Carlo Goldoni	Director - Giorgio Strehler Designer - Ezio Florence Music - Fiorenzo Carpi Cast - Nico Pepe, Maria Grazia Antonini, Bruno Lanzarini, Mauro Carbonoli, Relda Ridoni, Franco Graziosi, Gianfranco Mauri, Graziella Galvani, Ferruccio Soleri, Ivan Cecchini, Giuseppe Pambieri, Salvatore Arico, Giampaolo Grecchi, Renato Grimaldi, Vincenzo Porsio
Theatre on the Balustrade	29 May – 3 June	<i>The Trial</i> , adapted by Jan Grossman Based on the novel by Franz Kafka	Director - Jan Grossman Set Designer - Boris Soukup Costumes Designer - Mirka Kovarova Music - Zdenek Sikola

			Cast - Jan Preucil, Jiri Krampol, Jan Libicek, Oldrich Velen, Vaclav Mares, Lida Engelova, Helena Lehka, Milos Nedbal, Hana Smrckova, Monika Svabova, Vaclav Sloup, Ivan Palec, Jiri Padour, Jiri Lir, Marie Malkova, Jaroslav Kuklik, Andrej Krob, Martina Gregrova, Eva Janacova, Adela Kotkova, Olga Przygodzka, Jaroslav Krejci
		<i>The Fools (or A Strange Dream of a Clown)</i> , a mime by Ladislav Fialka	Director - Ladislav Falka Set Designer - Boris Soukup Costume Designer - Mirka Kovarova Masks - Rudolf Hammer Music - Zdenek Sikola Cast - Ladislav Fialka, Zdenka Kratochvilova, Jana Peskova, Bozena Vechetova, Olga Przygodzka, Josef Fajta, Jiri Kaftan, Ivan Lukes, Richard Weber
15 April – 22 June 1968 (10 weeks)			
Theatre on the Balustrade	15 – 27 April	<i>The Clowns</i> , a mime by Ladislav Fialka	Director - Ladislav Fialka Set Designer - Boris Soukup Costume Designer - Mirka Kovarova Music - Zdenek Sikola Cast - Ladislav Fialka, Zdenka Kratochvilova, Jana Peskova, Josef Fajta, Jiri Kaftan, Ivan Lukes, Richard Weber, Ludmilla Kovarova
		<i>The Fools, (or A Strange Dream of a Clown)</i> , a mime by Ladislav Fialka	Director - Ladislav Fialka Designer - Boris Soukup Costume Designer - Mirka Kovarova Music - Zdenek Sikola

			Cast - Ladislav Fialka, Zdenka Kratochvilova, Jana Peskova, Josef Fajta, Jiri Kaftan, Ivan Lukes, Richard Weber, Ludmilla Kovarova
		<i>King Ubu</i> Adapted by Milos Macourek and Jan Grossman from Alfred Jarry's <i>Ubu Roi</i> and <i>Ubu Enchainé</i> and Prokop Voskovec's <i>Faustroll</i>	Director - Jan Grossman Set Designer - Libor Fara Costume Designer - Mirka Kovarova Music - Zdenek Sikola Cast - Jan Libicek, Marie Malkova, Jan Preucil, Jaroslav Vozner, Vaclav Sloup, Oldrich Velen, Helena Lehka, Vaclav Mares, Oldrich Vlach, Jaroslav Gillar, Jan Ourada, Ivan Palec, Hana Smrckova, Jiri Krampol, Ladislav Klepal, Andrej Krob
Théâtre de France	29 April – 11 May	<i>Partage de midi</i> , by Paul Claudel	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Set Designer - Felix Labisse Costume Designer - Christian Berard Cast - Edwige Feuillere, Jean-Louis Barrault, Jean Martinelli, Jean Desailly
		<i>Il faut passer par les nuages</i> , by François Billetdoux	Director - Jean-Louis Barrault Designers - René Allio and Claude Lemaire Music - Serge Baudo Cast - Anne Doat, Pierre Bertin, Marie-Hélène Daste, Nelly Benedetti, Guy Moigne, Jean Desailly, Pierre Gallon, Christiane Carpentier, Régis Outin, Jean-Louis Barrault, Maurice Sarfati, François Helie, Victor Beniard, Madeleine Renaud, Marie-

			Christine Barrault, Robert Lombard, Michel Berger, Madeleine Lambert, Jacques Alric, Michel Bertay, Dominique Santarelli, Louis Fremont, André Batisse, Gérald Marti, Céline Salles, William Coryn
		<i>Le Barbier de Seville</i> , by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	Director - Jean-Pierre Granval Designer - Jean-Denis Malcles Music - Serge Baudo Cast - Michel Rhul, Dominique Paturel, Pierre Bertin, Anna Doat, Robert Lombard, Régis Outin, Pierre Chabert, Victor Beniard, François Helie, Louis Fremont, Michel Berger
Rome Stabile Theatre	13 – 18 May	<i>Naples by Night, Naples by Day</i> , by Raffaele Viviani	Director - Guiseppe Patroni Griffi Designer - Ferdinando Scarfiotti Songs - Fiorenzo Carpi Choreography - Louis Naylor Cast - Franco Sportelli, Nichola di Pinto, Mario Frera, Bruno Marinelli, Antonio Casagrande, Corrado Annicelli, Carlo Fortuna, Marina Pagano, Piero Sammataro, Franco Acampora, Angela Pagano, Angela Luce, Mariano Rigillo, Marco Berneck, Paolo Falace, Umberto Liberati, Mario Frera, Alberto Carloni, Isabella Guidotti, Roberto Marelli, Piero Sammataro, Maria Torica, Anna Goel, Gianna Marelli, Marina Pagano, Maria Torcia

Abbey Theatre	20 May – 1 June	<i>The Shaughraun</i> , by Dion Boucicault	Director - Hugh Hunt Designer - Alan Barlow Music - Eamon O'Gallagher Lighting - John Wyckham Cast - Donal McCann, Desmond Cave, Patrick Layde, Geoffrey Golden, Peadar Lamb, Cyril Cusack, Seamus Newham, Aideen O'Kelly, Fidelma Murphy, Brid Lynch, Marie O'Neill, Joan O'Hara, Deidre Purcell
Sweden's Royal Dramatic Theatre	3 – 8 June	<i>Hedda Gabler</i> , by Henrik Ibsen	Director - Ingmar Bergman Designer - Mago Cast - Ingvar Kjellson, Gertrud Fridh, Renee Björling, Jane Friedmann, Olof Widgren, Georg Arlin, Ellika Mann
Bunraku National Theatre of Japan	10 – 22 June	Programme One - Play One: <i>Kanadehon Chushingura (The Forty-Seven Loyal Ronin)</i> , by Takeda Play Two: <i>Tsubosaka Kannon Reigenki (The Miracle at the Tsubosaka Kannon Temple)</i> , by Kako Play Three: <i>Tsuri Onna (Fishing for Wives)</i> , by Anonymous	Joruri reciters - Tsudayu Takemoto, Harukodayu Takemoto, Koshijidayu Takemoto, Nambudayu Takemoto Shamisen players - Kichibei Nozawa, Yashichi Takezawa, Katsutaro Nozawa, Tokutaro Tsuruzawa, Matsunosuke Nozawa Puppet manipulators - Monjuro Kiritake, Tamao Yoshida, Eiza Yoshida, Kanjuro Kiritake, Bunjaku Yoshida, Minosuke Yoshida
		Programme Two - Play One: <i>Kanjincho (The Subscription List)</i> , by Namiki	Joruri reciters - Tsudayu Takemoto, Koshijidayu Takemoto, Nambudayu Takemoto, Tokudayu Toyotake, Harukodayu Takemoto

		Play Two: <i>Sonezaki Shinju (The Double Suicide at Sonezaki)</i> , by Chikamatsu	Shamisen players - Yashichi Takezawa, Katsutaro Nozawa, Tokutaro Tsuruzawa, Matsunosuke Nozawa, Yashichi Takezawa Puppet manipulators - Monjuro Kiritake, Kamematsu Kiritake, Seijuro Toyomatsu, Eiza Yoshida, Tamao Yoshida, Kanjuro Kiritake
14 April - 7 June 1969 (8 weeks)			
Théâtre de la Cité	14 – 26 April	<i>Bérénice</i> , by Jean Racine	Director - Robert Planchon Designer - René Allio Cast - Sami Frey, Francine Bergé, Denis Manuel, André Cellier, Gérard Guillaumat, Tatiana Moukhine, Claude Lochy
		<i>Georges Dandin</i> , by Molière	Director - Robert Planchon Designer - René Allio Cast - Jean Bouise, Colette Dompiertrini, Veronique Silver, Claude Brasseur, Claude Lochy, Isabelle Sadoyan, Gerard Guillaumat, Julien Mallier, Ferna Claude, Gerard Frisque, René Morard
Theatre Behind the Gate	28 April – 3 May	<i>The Three Sisters</i> , by Anton Chekhov	Director - Otomar Krejca Set Designer - Josef Svoboda Costume Designer - Jarmilla Konecna Lighting - Vlastimil Tretera Cast - Milan Riehs, Bohumila Dolejsova, Vera Kubankova, Marie Tomasova, Hana Pasterjikova, Borik Prochazka, Vaclav Neuzil, Jan Triska, Rudolf Jelinek, Otomar Krejca, Jiri Zahajsky, Jiri Klem,

			Ladislav Fiser, Leopolda Dostalova, Hana Maciuchova, Miroslav Masopust, Josef Culek
		<i>The Single-Ended Rope</i> , by Johann Nestroy Adapted by Karel Klaus and Zdenek Mahler	Director - Otomar Krejca Set Designer - Josef Svoboda Costume Designer - Jarmilla Konecna Music - Petr Hapka Lyrics - Petr Rada Choreography - Lea Janeckova Cast - Jan Triska, Ladislav Bohac, Borik Prochazka, Rudolf Jelinek, Marie Tomasova, Bohumila Dolejsova, Vaclav Neuzil, Hana Maciuchova, Vera Petakova, Hana Pastejrikova
		<i>An Hour of Love</i> , by Josef Topol and <i>The Green Cockatoo</i> , by Arthur Schnitzler	Director - Otomar Krejca Set Designer - Josef Svoboda Costume Designer - Jarmilla Konecna Music - Petr Hapka Lyrics - Petr Rada Cast - Jan Triska, Marie Tomasova, Leopolda Dostalova, Miroslav Moravec, Jiri Zahajsky, Miroslav Masopust, Ladislav Fiser, Vera Kubankova, Milan Riehs, Milos Nedbal, Ladislav Bohac, Borik Prochazka, Rudolf Jelinek, Jiri Klem, Vladimir Matejcek, Vera Petakova, Hana Pastejrikova, Hana Maciuchova, Bohumila Dolejsova, Vaclav Neuzil, Jan Lorman, Otomar Krejca, Josef Culek, Petr Hapka

Negro Ensemble Company	5 – 17 May	<i>Song of the Lusitanian Bogey</i> , by Peter Weiss Translated by Lee Baxandall	Director - Michael A. Schulz Set Designer - Edward Burbridge Costume Designer - Bernard Johnson Music - Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson Cast - Samuel Blue. Jr., Arthur French, Norman Bush, Esther Rolle, Clarice Taylor, David Downing, Mari Toussaint, Hattie Winston, Allie Woods, Graham Brown, William Jay, Rosalind Cash, Judyann Elder
		<i>God is a (Guess What?)</i> , by Ray McIver	Director - Michael A. Schulz Set Designer - Edward Burbridge Costume Designer - Bernard Johnson Choreography - Louis Johnson Music - Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson Cast - Arthur French, David Downing, Julius W. Harris, Graham Brown, Samuel Blue. Jr., Norman Bush, Esther Rolle, Clarice Taylor, Mari Toussaint, Hattie Winston, Allie Woods, William Jay, Rosalind Cash, Judyann Elder, Frances Foster
Greek Art Theatre	19 – 31 May	<i>Lysistrata</i> , by Aristophanes Translated by Kostas Varnalis	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Phaidon Patrikalakis Music - Yannis Markopoulos Greek dances - Maria Kynigou Cast - Nelly Angelidou, Thymios Karakatsanis, Ekali Sokou, Reni Pitaki, Maya Lyberopoulou, Mina Adamaki, Katerina Karayanni, Thalia Tasakopoulou, Nikos Kouros, Dimitris

			Hadjimarkos, Mimis Kouyoumdjis, Spyros Kostantopoulos, Stelios Kafkaridis, Alekos Oudinoti, Giorgos Gramatikos, Yannis Fakis, Nikos Pongas, Kostas Tsapekos, Yannis Mortzos, Ilias Logothetis, Eva Kotamanidou, Dimitris Asteriadis, Vassilis Boyouklakis, Nikos Bousdoukos
		<i>Oedipus Rex</i> , by Sophocles Translated by Fotos Politis	Director - Karolos Koun Designer - Yannis Moralis Music - Yannis Christou Cast - Giorgios Lazanis, Angelika Kapelari, Alekos Oudinoti, Dimitris Hadjimarkos, Spyros Kostantopoulos, Dimitris Asteriadis, Stelios Kafkaridis, Vassilis Bouyouklakis, Nektarios Vouteris, Nikos Bousdoukos, Ilias Logothetis, Yannis Mortzos, Giorgios Gramatikos, Dimitris Athanasopoulos
Anna Magnani Company	2 – 7 June	<i>La Lupa</i> , by Giovanni Verga	Director and Designer - Franco Zeffirelli (re-rehearsed by Pasqualino Pennarola) Costume Designer - Anna Anni Music and Sicilian Dances - Bruno Nicolai and Alberto Testa Cast - Anna Magnani, Manuela Andrei, Osvaldo Ruggieri, Pino Colizzi, Franco Acampora, Brizio Montinaro, Gianni Mantesi, Ave Ninchi, Nelide Giammarce, Laurotta Torchio, Alfredo Censi, Sergio Nicolai

13 April – 6 June 1970 (8 weeks)			
The Činoherní Klub of Prague	13 – 25 April	<i>Mandragola</i> , by Niccolo Machiavelli Translated by Jaroslav Pokorny	Director - Jiri Menzel Designer - Lubos Hruza Lighting - Milan Jelinek Music - Vaclav Halek Cast - Jiri Halek, Frantisek Husak, Jana Brezkova, Petr Cepek, Josef Somr, Jiri Hrzan, Vera Galatikova, Josef Vondracek, Nina Diviskova
		<i>Whose Turn Next?</i> , by Alena Vostrá	Director - Jan Kacer Literary and Production Adviser - Jaroslav Vostry Designer - Lubos Hruza Music - Petr Skoumal Cast - Jiri Hrzan, Jirinia Trebicka, Josef Abrham, Nina Diviskova, Petr Cepek, Jana Brezkova, Josef Vondracek, Josef Somr, Pavel Landovsky, Zdena Koutska, Jana Karkova, Vera Galatikova, Jiri Kodet Musicians – Petr Skoumal, Pavel Greifoner, Jiri Furdzo
		<i>The Government Inspector</i> , by Nicolai Gogol Translated by Zdenek Mahler	Director - Jan Kacer Designer - Lubos Hruza Lighting - Milan Jelinek Cast - Jiri Kodet, Josef Somr, Pavel Landovsky, Helena Ruzickova, Jana Brezkova, Frantisek Husak, Vera Galatikova, Zdenek Braunschlager, Jiri Halek, Josef Abrham, Petr Cepek, Jiri Hrzan, Vaclav Kotva, Josef Somr, Josef Vondracek, Miloslav Stibich, Leos Sucharipa, Jindrich Tulacek, Petr

			Skoumal, Frantisek Viena, Ivan M Vyskocil, Lubo Mauer
Schiller Theater	27 April – 2 May	<i>The Captain of Köpenick</i> , by Carl Zuckermayer	Director - Bolesław Barlog Designer - Eva Schwarz Music - Kurt Heuser Cast - Rudolph Grabow, Klaus Miedel, Herbert Grunbaum, Helga Thoma, Carl Raddatz, Reinhold Bernt, Klaus Jepsen, Klaus Herm, Marie Bardischewski, Käthe Anders, Jurgen Hertrich, Claus Holm, Ursula Diestel, Edgar Ott, Kurt Weitkamp, Franz Nicklisch, Holger Kepich, Friedrich W. Bauschulte, Rudolf Fernau, Heinz Rabe, Charlotte Joeres, Eduard Wandrey, Eva-Katharina Schulz, Monica Ogorek, Rudolf Brandt, Erhard Siedel, Horst Güldemeister, Otto Matthies, Klaus Jepsen, Peter Probst, Horst Heidemann, Dieter Ranspach, Hans Madin, Harry Schöpp
		<i>Krapp's Last Tape</i> , by Samuel Beckett	Director - Samuel Beckett Designer - Matias Cast - Martin Held
		<i>Intrigue and Love</i> , by Friedrich Schiller	Director - Hans Hollman Designer - Thomas Richter-Forgach Cast - Helmut Wildt, Gerd Böckman, Rolf Henniger, Reinhild Solf, Jurgen Thormann, Holger Kepich, Sibylle Gilles, Susanne Tremper, Heike Balzer, Rudolf Fernau, Klaus Jepsen, Uew Paulsen, Peter Ries

Comédie-Française	4 – 16 May	<i>La Navette</i> , by Henry Becque	Director - Jean Piat Designer - Thierry Vernet Cast - Micheline Boudet, Jacques Toja, Jacques Eyser, Jean-Pierre Barlier, Denise Gence
		<i>Amphitryon</i> , by Molière	Director - Jean Meyer Designer - Suzanne Lalique Cast - Robert Hirsch, Jean Piat, Jacques Eyser, George Descrieres, Jacques Toja, Simon Eine, Marcel Tristani, Jacques Buron, Denise Gence, Genieve Casile, Berengere Dautun
		<i>Dom Juan</i> , by Molière	Director - Antoine Bourseiller Designer - Oskar Gustin Cast - Jacques Charon, Paul-Emile Deiber, Jacques Eyser, Rene Arrieu, George Descrieres, Jean-Paul Roussillon, Jean-Louis Jemma, Simon Eine, Marcel Tristani, Jacques Buron, Catherine Samie, Ludmila Mikael, Catherine Hiegel, Anne Lefol
Catania Stabile Theatre	18 – 23 May	<i>Liola</i> , by Luigi Pirandello	Director - Turi Ferro Set Designer - Francesco Contrafatto Costume Designer - Titus Vossberg Music - Angelo Musco Cast - Turi Ferro, Umberto Spadaro, Ave Ninchi, Fioretta Mari, Ida Carrara, Franca Manetti, Floria Marrone, Antonietta Forlani, Mariella Logiudice, Marina Ninci, Aldo Leontini, Guglielmo Ferro, Franco Melli, Maria Tolu

Moscow Art Theatre	25 May – 6 June	<i>The Seagull</i> , by Anton Chekhov	<p>Director - Boris N. Livanov Assistant Director - S. G. Desnitsky Set Designer - E. G. Stenberg Costume Designer - V. I. Aralova Music - Scriabin, arranged by N. G. Vassiliev Sound - A. P. Akimov and N. G. Vassiliev Dramaturg - A. V. Kessler Cast - A. I. Stepanova, O. A. Strizhenov, S. I. Korkoshko, L. I. Gubanov, M. P. Bolduman, G. N. Kolchitsky, E. N. Hanaeva, I. P. Miroshnichenko, L. V. Ivanov, V. S. Davidov, N. P. Alexeev, A. P. Akimov, D. A. Klimov, A. M. Myazdrikov, L. K. Ksatochkima</p>
		<i>Lenin - The Third Pathétique</i> , by Nikolai Pogodin	<p>Producer and director - Mikhail N. Kedrov Directors - V. H. Bogomolov and N. D. Kovshov Designer - L. B. Baturin Sound - V. A. Popov and A. P. Akimov Cast - S. A. Yakovlev, I. P. Gosheva, U. N. Puzirev, V. S. Davidov, H. P. Alexeev, I. P. Miroshnichenko, N. V. Peskoy, A. A. Mihailov, S. I. Korkoshko, L. F. Zolotuhin, M. N. Zemin, M. V. Anastasieva, A. A. Borzunov, V. I. Novoselsky, D. I. Shutov, V. V. Pushkarev, V. M. Nevinny, U. V. Larionov, S. G. Desnitsky, M. E. Medvedev, G. N. Kolchitsky, Z. G. Toboltsev, L. I. Gubanov</p>

24 March – 22 May 1971 (9 weeks)			
Théâtre Michel	24 March – 10 April	<i>La Ville dont le Prince est un Enfant</i> , by Henry de Montherlant	Director - Jean Meyer Designer - Yvon Henry Cast - Paul Guers, Dominique Pennors, Gil de Lesparda, Bernard Ristroph, Edgar Givry, Yves Brainville
Theatre Behind the Gate	12 – 17 April	<i>The Three Sisters</i> , by Anton Chekhov	CANCELLED
		<i>Ivanov</i> , by Anton Chekhov	CANCELLED
Sweden's Royal Dramatic Theatre	19 – 24 April	<i>The Dream Play</i> , by August Strindberg	Director - Ingmar Bergman Assistant Director - Göran Sarring Designer - Lennart Mörk Cast - Malin Ek, Georg Arlin, Holger Löwenadler, Allan Edwall, Oscar Ljung, Henrik Schildt, Aino Taube, Ellika Mann, Birgitta Valberg, John Harryson, Irene Lindh, Kari Sylwan, Dora Söderberg, Sven-Eric Gamble, Hans Sundberg, Allan Edwall, Ragnar Arvedson, Gösta Prüzelius, Einar Axelsson, Clemens Paal, Frank Sundström, Olle Hilding, Renée Björling, Kristina Adolphson
Schiller Theater	26 April – 1 May	<i>Yvonne, Princess of Burgundy</i> , by Witold Gombrowicz	Director - Ernst Schröder Set Designer - Josef Svoboda Costume Designer - Werner Jührke Cast - Christa Witsch, Martin Held, Lu Säuberlich Heribert Sasse, Siegmarschneider, Reinhild Solf, Randolph Kronberg, Wolfgang Ziffer, Christine

			Gerlach, Lotte Stein, Klaus Nägelen, Hans Schwarz, Hans Madin, Hebert Wilk, Kurt Weitkamp, Georg Völkel, Helga Thoma, Ursula Diestel, Cordula Hubrich, Hülya Laumer, Jutta Kammann, Elke von Klopmann, Werner Stock, Horst Friecke
		<i>Krapp's Last Tape</i> , by Samuel Beckett	Director - Samuel Beckett Designer - Matias Cast - Martin Held
		<i>Endgame</i> , by Samuel Beckett	Director - Samuel Beckett Designer - Matias Cast - Werner Stock, Gudrun Genest, Ernst Schröder, Horst Bollmann
Genoa Stabile Theatre	3 – 8 May	<i>The Venetian Twins</i> , by Carlo Goldoni	Director - Luigi Squarzina Designer - Gianfranco Padovani Music - Giancarlo Ghiaramello Cast - Gianni Galavotti, Grazia Maria Spina, Camillo Milli, Alberto Lionello, Eros Pagni, Lucilla Morlacchi, Sebastiano Tringali, Omero Antonutti, Margherita Guzzinati, Alvis Battain, Luigi Carubbi, Enrico Ardizzone, Tullio Solenghi, Mario Marchi, Gianni Fenzi, Tullio Solenghi
Dormen Theatre	10 – 15 May	<i>A Tale of Istanbul</i> , by Erol Günaydin	Director - Haldun Dormen Set Designer - Osman Şengezer Costume Designer - Güler Erenyol Music - Cemal Reşit Rey Cast - Erol Günaydin, Kerem Yilmazer, Hadi Gaman, Hayrettin Arslan, Suna Keskin, Goksel

			Kortay, Güzin Özipek, Nevra Şirvan, Muazzez Kurdoğlu, Yüksel Gözen, Zeynep Tedü, Kamran Usluer, Göksel Kortay, Dündar Şen, Savaş Kalkan, Tülin Oral, Enver Demirkan, Erkal Özden, Nahit Güvendi, Muhsin Kurtaran
Núria Espert Company	17 – 22 May	<i>The Maids</i> , by Jean Genet	Director - Víctor García Set Designers - Víctor García and Enrique Alarcón Costume Designers - Víctor García and Marbel jr. Cast - Núria Espert, Julieta Serrano, Maria Paz Ballesteros
3 April – 3 June 1972 (9 weeks)			
Natal Theatre Workshop Company	3 – 15 April	<i>uMabatha</i> , by Welcome Msomi	Director - Pieter Scholtz Traditional Designs Cast - Janet Khumalo, Beauty Ntsubela, Perfect Malimela, Michael Hlatschwayo, Khulekani Magubane, Refugee Myeza, Ralph Mthembu, Gedion Dlamini, Elliot Ngubane, Muzi Ngcobo, Richard Mhlongo, Welcome Msomi, Daphne Hlomuka, Lawrence Sithole, Bongani Ngidi, Oliver Sithole, Petros Kunene, Phillip Msomi, Ntombiyenkosi Mhlongo, Musa Dladla, Doris Cele, Elsie Msomi, Thembi Mtshali, Loraine Nyathikazi, Iris Putini, Bella S'Khosana, Angeline Zondo, Khulumokwakhe Buthelezi, Bongani Cele, Khethe Cele, Ngcebo Dunge, Muzikabani Kanyile, Vusumizi Khanyile, Mhlaselwa Khuzwayo, Zipathe Magwaza, Pumendlini Makanya, Buzubani

			Mchunu, Qalokunye Mfeka, Mkhulumeleni Msimango, Mbonwa Mthembu, Mziwemvuma Mtshali, Mziwamathee Myqayi, Mvungana Mcanana, Falakhe Nyawose, Mangalelwa Nyawose, Phillimon Nyawose, Mashu Qumbisa, Mhlokonywe Shandu, Funtela Shange, Mboya Sibiya, Zenzile Vuzamathe, Mahlaysia Zulu
Núria Espert Company	17 – 22 April	<i>Yerma</i> , by Federico García Lorca	Director - Víctor García Assistant Director - Núria Espert Designers - Víctor García and Fabían Puigserver Lighting - Polo Villaseñor Cast - Núria Espert, José Luis Pellicena, Daniel Dicenta, Amparo Valle, Paloma Lorena, Rosa Vicente, Conchita Leza, Gloria Berrocal, Núria Moreno, Enrique Majó, Ana Carmona, Antonio Corencia, Alberto Socias, Mariano Anos, Ricardo Marquez, Agustin Villaronga
Greek National Theatre	25 April – 6 May	<i>The Oresteia</i> , by Aeschylus Translated by Tassos Roussos A trilogy consisting of: <i>Agamemnon</i>	Director - Takis Mouzenidis Assistant Director - Stelios Papadakis Set Designer - Kleovoulos Klonis Costume Designer - Dionyssis Fotopoulos Music - Stefanos Vassiliadis Choreographer - Zouzou Nicoloudi Cast - Ghikas Binariis, Mary Aroni, Stelios Vokovits, Vassili Kanakis, Kakia Panayiotou, Nikos Kazis, Kostas Kosmopoulos, Kostas Kokkakis

		<i>The Choepori (The Libation-Bearers)</i>	<p>Director - Takis Mouzenidis Assistant Director - Stelios Papadakis Set Designer - Kleovoulos Klonis Costume Designer - Dionyssis Fotopoulos Music - Stefanos Vassiliadis Choreographer - Dora Tastsou-Symeonidi Cast - Stefanos Kyriakidis, Mary Aroni, Chriss Politis, Vassilis Kanakis, Kakia Panayiotou, Helen Hadjiarghyri, Nikos Kazis, Theodore Moridis, Pitsa Kapitsinea, Zetta Kondyli, Antigone Glykofrydi, Heleni Riga, Miranda Zafiropoulou</p>
		<i>The Eumenides (The Benign Ones)</i>	<p>Director - Takis Mouzenidis Assistant Director - Stelios Papadakis Set Designer - Kleovoulos Klonis Costume Designer - Dionyssis Fotopoulos Music - Stefanos Vassiliadis Choreographer - Zouzou Nicoloudi Cast - Heleni Zafiriou, Vassili Kanakis, Chr. Kazantzidis, Chriss Politis, Mary Aroni, Kakia Panayiotou</p>
Eduardo De Filippo Company	8 – 13 May	<i>Napoli Milionaria</i> , by Eduardo De Filippo	<p>Director - Eduardo De Filippo Designer - Bruno Garofalo Music - Nino Rota Cast - Angelica Ippolito, Sergio Solli, Eduardo De Filippo, Pupella Maggio, Linda Moretti, Nunzia Fumo, Nando Di Lena, Franco D'Amato, Gennaro Palumbo, Luca Della Porta, Nino Formicola,</p>

			Franco Folli, Giuseppe Anatrelli, Isa Danieli, Patrizia D'Alessandro, Anna Fiorelli, Rosario Bertonato
Kathakali Drama Company	15 – 27 May	<i>The Ramayana</i>	Choreographer - M. K. K. Nayer Director - Shankara Angadi Music - Embranthiri Hyderali Cast - Krishnan Nayar, Chathunny Panicker, Pisharoty, Mankompu, Kesavan Namboodiri, Karunakaran, Kudamaloor, Bhaskaran, Kesavadev, Padmanabhan, Haripad Ramakrishnan
		<i>The Mahabharata</i>	Same as above
Cracow Stary Theatre	29 May – 3 June	<i>The Possessed</i> , by Fyodor Dostoyevsky Dramatized by Andrzej Wajda	Director and Set Designer - Andrzej Wajda Costume Designer - Krystyna Zachwatowicz Music - Zygmunt Konieczny Cast - Jan Nowicki, Marta Rippel, Marek Walczewski, Tadeusz Malak, Andrzej Kozak, Aleksander Fabisiak, Hanna Halcewicz, Izabela Olszewska, Jerzy Binczycki, Zofia Niwinska, Celina Niedzwiecka, Maria Rabczynska, Wiktor Sadecki, Janusz Sykutera, Wojciech Ruszkowski, Jerzy Baczek, Leszek Piskorz, Marian Slojkowski, Euzebiusz Luberadski, Rajmund Jarosz, Wojciech Pszoniak, Kazimierz Kaczor, Wanda Kruszevska, Danuta Maksymowicz, Ferdynand Wojcik, Elzbieta Karkoszka

26 March – 30 June 1973 (10 weeks)			
Bochum Schauspielhaus	26 – 31 March	<i>Little Man - What Now?</i> Dramatised by Tankred Dorst and Peter Zadek from the novel by Hans Fallada	Director - Peter Zadek Designer - Georg Wakhevitch Costume Designers - Georg Wakhevitch and Jeanne Renucci Music - Erwin Bootz and Peer Raben Choreographers - Tutte Lemkow and Fay Werner Cast - Hannelore Hoger, Heinrich Giskes, Tana Schanzara, Rosel Zech, Wolfgang Feige, Hans Hirschmüller, Herman Lause, Eberhard Steib, Franz Gesien, Barbara Bertram, Cordula Gerburg, Marie-Luise Marjan, Elisabeth Stepanek, Klaus Mikoleit, Sylvester Schmidt, Ernst Joachim Kuchler, Heidi Zerning, Brigitte Mira, Klaus Höhne, Werner Dahms, Liesel Alex, Hans Mahnke, Karl-Heinz Vosgerau, Werner Eichhorn, Tamara Kafka, Marie-Luise Marjan, Karl Friedrich, Ulrich Wildgruber, Günter Lamprecht
Núria Espert Company	2 – 7 April	<i>Yerma</i> , by Federico García Lorca	Director - Víctor García Assistant Director - Núria Espert Designers - Víctor García and Fabían Puigserver Lighting - Polo Villaseñor Cast - Núria Espert, José Luis Pellicena, Daniel Dicenta, Amparo Valle, Paloma Lorena, Rosa Vicente, Conchita Leza, Gloria Berrocal, Núria Moreno, Enrique Majó, Ana Carmona, Antonio

			Corencia, Alberto Socias, Mariano Anos, Ricardo Marquez, Agustin Villaronga
Vienna Burgtheater	9 – 14 April	<i>Liebelei</i> , by Arthur Schnitzler	Director - Gerhard Klingenberg Designer - Rouben Ter-Arutunian Cast - Maresa Hörbiger, Wolfgang Hübsch, Attila Hörbiger, Paul Hoffman, Michael Heltau, Sylvia Lukan, Ida Krottendorf
Comédie-Française	16 – 28 April	<i>Le Médecin Volant</i> , by Molière	Director - Francis Perrin Designer - Jacques Marillier Cast - Francis Perrin, Bernard Alane, Catherine Salviat, Georges Audoubert, Marcel Tristani, Gérard Caillaud, Virginie Pradal
		<i>La Malade Imaginaire</i> , by Molière	Director - Jean-Laurent Cochet Designer - Jacques Marillier Music - Michel Magne Cast - Jacques Charon, René Arrieu, François Beaulieu, Marcel Tristani, Françoise Seigner, Jacques Toja, Catherine Hiegel, Jean-Noël Sissia, Bérengère Dautun, Jacques Eyser, Dominique Rozan, Francis Perrin, Emmanuelle Milloux, Yves

			Barrier, Jean-Michel Cuignet, Jean-Paul Queret, Maurice Vaudaux, Alain Duverger
		<i>Richard III</i> , by William Shakespeare Translated by Jean-Louis Curtis	<p>Director - Terry Hands Designer - Farrah Music - Guy Woolfenden Cast - Robert Hirsch, Jacques Charon, Jacques Eyser, Jean-Paul Rousillon, Simon Eine, Denise Gence, Catherine Samie, Ludmila Mikael, François Chaumette, Michel Etcheverry, René Camoin, Michel Duchaussoy, François Beaulieu, Marco- Behar, Marcel Tristani, Jean-Noël Sissia, Nicolas Silberg, Hervé Sand, Jean- François Remi, Jean-Luc Boutte, Louis Arbessier, Georges Audoubert, Denise Gence, Catherine Samie, Ludmila Mikael, Virginie Pradal, Aline Bertrand, Martine Carlier, Didier Attar, Marie-Carole Favand, Gérard Malabat, Pascal Sellier, Patrick Baugin, Eric Baugin, Yves Barrier, Jean-Michel Cuignet, Jean-Paul Queret, Maurice Vaudaux, Alain Duverger, Jean-Noël Barric, Michel Debiolle, Jean-Pierre Heki, Francis Lacoste, Francis Menzio, Claude Rigal, Guy Verame Musicians - Alain Margoni, Lino Pirollo, Gabriel Berger, Serge Bonnin, Philippe Labadie, Gérard Coutelet, Yves Guigou, Jean-Claude Bourrie, Ramon de Herrera, Jacques Castagner, Pierre Sechet, André Presle, André Garreau</p>

Peppino De Filippo's Italian Theatre Company	30 April – 5 May	<i>The Metamorphoses of a Wandering Minstrel</i> , by Peppino De Filippo	Staging and original music - Peppino De Filippo Costume Designer - Guido Cozzolino Conductor - Armando Del Cupola Choreographer - Elena Saconaghi Cast - Peppino De Filippo, Hilde Maria Renzi, Angela Luce, Giorgio Gusso, Aldo Alori, Delia D'Alberti, Dori Cei, Luigi De Filippo, Gianni Nazarro, Armando Marra, Elio Bertoletti, Benito Artesi, Del De Majo, Nada Fraschi, Lelia Mangano
Compagnia dei Giovani and Morelli-Stoppa ¹	7 – 12 May	<i>La Bugiarda</i> , by Diego Fabbri	Director - Giorgio De Lullo Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi Cast - Rossella Falk, Romolo Valli, Paolo Stoppa, Elsa Albani, Rina Morelli
		<i>Right You Are, If You Think You Are</i> , by Luigi Pirandello	Director - Giorgio De Lullo Designer - Pier Luigi Pizzi Cast - Rina Morelli, Paolo Stoppa, Romolo Valli, Rossella Falk, Elsa Albani, Ferruccio de Ceresa
Rideau de Bruxelles	14 – 19 May	<i>L'Enchanteur Pourissant</i> , adapted from Guillaume Apollinaire by Pierre Laroche	Director - Pierre Laroche Designer - Jean-Marie Fiévez Choreography - Monette Loza Music - Calyer Duncan and Francis Bouchat Cast - Liliane Becker, Jean-Marie Petiniot, Marie-France Colin, Vincent Grass, Andre Ghisle, Roland Depauw, Claudine Laroche, Jean-Claude Idée, Pierre Laroche, Anne Chappuis, Anny Czupper,

¹ There is no Production File in the V&A Department of Theatre and Performance and so this entry is incomplete

			Henri Leboutte, Ronald Guttman, Jules-Henri Marchant, Gysele Oudart, Monette Loza, Yves Mahieu, Dirk Gryspeirt, Thierry Parmentier, Julien Roy, Barnard Damien
Cracow Stary Theatre	21 – 26 May	<i>The Possessed</i> , by Fyodor Dostoyevsky Dramatized by Andrzej Wajda	Director and Set Designer - Andrzej Wajda Costume Designer - Krystyna Zachwatowicz Music - Zygmunt Konieczny Cast - Jan Nowicki, Marta Rippel, Marek Walczewski, Tadeusz Malak, Wojciech Pszoniak, Aleksander Fabisiak, Andrzej Kozak, Izabela Olszewska, Hanna Halcewicz, Zofia Niwinska, Wiktor Sadecki, Jerzy Binczycki, Celina Niedzwiecka, Maria Rabczynska, Janusz Sykutera, Wojciech Ruszkowski, Jerzy Baczek, Leszek Piskorz, Marian Slojkowski, Euzebiusz Luberadski, Rajmund Jarosz, Kazimierz Kaczor, Wanda Kruszevska, Danuta Maksymowicz, Ferdynand Wojcik, Elzbieta Karkoszka
Sweden's Royal Dramatic Theatre	28 May – 2 June	<i>The Wild Duck</i> , by Henrik Ibsen	Director - Ingmar Bergman Assistant Director - Gunnel Lindblom Designer - Marik Vos Cast - Max von Sydow, Lena Nyman, Ernst-Hugo Järegard, Margaretha Krook, Holger Löwenadler, Ingvar Kjellson, Harriet Andersson, Anders Ek, Axel Düberg, Segol Mann, Ollie Hilding, Hans Sundberg, Oscar Ljung, Erland Josephson, Karl-Axel Forssberg

Umewaka Noh Troupe	4 – 16 June	<p>Programme One - Play One: <i>Sagi (The Heron)</i>, by Zeami Play Two: <i>Futari-Daimyo (The Two Lords)</i>, by Anonymous Play Three: <i>Kiyotsune</i>, by Zeami</p>	<p>Artistic Director - Manzaburo Umewaka Technical Director - Makio Umewake Cast - Manzaburo Umewaka, Makio Umewake, Kenzo Matsumoto, Yasusuke Tonoda, Teruya Ueda, Masaharu Umewaka, Yasuyuki Umewaka, Yasutoshi Urata, Sengoro Shigeyema, Masayoshi Shigeyama, Juro Zenchiku, Masaji Fujitani, Kunio Kawai, Minoru Kasada, Kazuo Hirai Musicians - Yoji Issa, Hisashi Uzawa, Takashi Yamamoto, Shunzo Kodaera</p>
		<p>Programme Two - Play One: <i>Sotowa Komachi (Komachi and the Sotoba)</i>, by Kan-ami Play Two: <i>Bo-shibari (Bound to the Pole)</i>, by Anonymous Play Three: <i>Funa-Benkei (Benkei in the Boat)</i> by Kojiro</p>	
		<p>Programme Three - Play One: <i>Sumida-Gawa (The Sumida River)</i>, by Motomasa Play Two: <i>Oba-ga-Sake (Aunt's Wine)</i>, by Anonymous</p>	
The Zulu Company	18 – 30 June	<i>uMabatha</i> , by Welcome Msomi	<p>Producer - Welcome Msomi Cast - Welcome Msomi, Lawrence Sithole, Janet Khumalo, Beauty Ntsukela, Perfect Malimela, Michael Hlatshwayo, Kulelani Magubane, Refuge Mcanyana, Ralph Mthembu, Gideon Dhlamini, Elliot Ngubane, Eric Ngcobo, Richard Mhlongo, Boyd Ngidi, Maureen Lemdebe, Oliver Stole, Petros Nene, Phillip Msomi, Ntombiyenkosi</p>

			Mhlongo, Phillip Mthembu, Elsie Msomi, Thembi Mtshali, Lorraine Nyathikazi, Bella Skosana, Angelina Zondo, Bongani Cele, Aaron Cele, Musa Dlodla, Ngcebo Dunge, Muzikabani Kanyile, Vusumuzi Khanyile, Mhlaselwa Khuzwayo, Zipathe Magwaza, Pumendlini Makanya, Buzabani Mchunu, Qalokunye Mfeko, Mkhulumeleni Msimango, Mbonwa Mtembu, Mziwenvuma Mtshali, Mziwathe Mnqayi, Mvungana Mcanana, Falakhe Nyawose, Mangalelwa Nyawose, Milton Qumbisa, Funtela Shange, Mboya Sibiya, Zenzile Vuzamathe, Mahlayisa Xulu
31 March – 26 April 1975 (4 weeks)			
Cracow Sary Theatre	31 March – 5 April	<i>November Night</i> , by Stanisław Wyspianski	<p>Adapter, Director and Designer - Andrzej Wajda</p> <p>Assistant Directors - Margita Dukiet, Jerzy Stuhr, Edward Lubaszenko</p> <p>Costume Designer - Krystyna Zachwatowicz</p> <p>Music - Zygmunt Konieczny</p> <p>Cast - Jerzy Stuhr, Jan Nowicki, Teresa Budzisz-Krzyzanowska, Stefan Szramel, Stanisław Gronkowski, Bolesław Smela, Adam Romanowski, Aleksander Fabisiak, Maciej Szary, Leszek Piskorz, Mieczysław Grabka, Jerzy Fedorowicz, Tadeusz Jurasz, Zofia Niwinska, Anna Dymna, Andrzej Buszewicz, Władysław Olszyn, Józef Morgala, Edward Dobrzański, Margita Dukiet, Barbara</p>

			Bosak, Ewa Ciepiel, Elzbieta Willowna, Elzbieta Karkoszka, Wanda Kruszewska, Zofia Jaroszevska
	8 – 12 April	<i>Forefathers' Eve</i> , by Adam Mickiewicz ²	Director and Designer - Konrad Swinarski Cast - Roman Stankiewicz, Roman Wójtowicz, Elzbieta Karkoszka, Michal Zarnecki, Anna Polony, Bolesław Smela, Anna Dymna, Jerzy Trela, Stanisław Gronkowski, Barbara Bosak, Ewa Ciepiela, Margita Dukiet, Alicja Kaminska, Ewa Kolasinska, Wanda Kruszewska, Halina Kwiatkowska, Izabela Olszewska, Hanna Smolska, Elzbieta Willowna, Halina Wojtacha, Edward Dobrzanski, Euzebiusz Luberadski, Rajmund Jarosz, Jozef Morgala, Adam Romanowski, Jerzy Swiech, Wojciech Ruszkowski, Zygmunt Jozefczak, Tadeusz Malak, Jerzy Stuhr, Tadeusz Jurasz, Jerzy Federowicz, Maciej Szary, Aleksander Fabisiak, Jerzy Radziwiłowicz, Edward Wnuk, Leszek Piskorz, Andrzej Buszewicz, Kazimierz Borowiec, Anna Polony, Wiktor Sadeki, Rajmund Jarosz, Tadeusz Malak, Euzebiusz Luberadski
Gothenburg Stadsteater	7 – 12 April	<i>Gustav III</i> , by August Strindberg	Director - Lennart Hjulström Designer - Olle Montelius Music - Sven-Eric Johanson Movement - Fero Veres

² This production took place in Southwark Cathedral

			Cast - Dan Sjögren, Ebon Sorin, Ola Lindegren, Martin Berggren, Lars Green, Sten Ljunggren, Christian Fiedler, Rune Turesson, Dan Sjögren, Måns Westfelt, Lars Erik Berenett, Christian Fiedler, Ingemar Carlehed, Tomas von Brömssen, Sven Wollter, Leo Cullborg
Compagnia di Prosa Tino Buazzelli	14 – 17 April	<i>Regeneration</i> , by Italo Svevo	Director - Edmo Fenoglio Designer - Sergio D'Osmo Cast - Tino Buazzelli, Laura Carli, Nicoletta Languasco, Massimo di Cecco, Gioacchino Maniscalco, Massimo de Francovich, Tino Bianchi, Enrico Poggi, Barbara Nay, Roberto Paoletti, Angelo Botti, Claudio Dani, Pio Buscaglione
	18 – 19 April	<i>Enemy of the People</i> , by Henrik Ibsen	Director - Edmo Fenoglio Assistant Director - Nelly Cavalo Designer - Walter Pace Music - Lucia de Laurentis Cast - Tino Buazzelli, Nicoletta Languasco, Barbara Nay, Massimo di Cecco, Robertino Paoletti, Tino Bianchi, Enrico Poggi, Massimo de Francovich, Gioacchino Maniscalco, Claudio Dani, Roberto Paoletti
Abafumi Company	21 – 26 April	<i>Reng Moi</i> , by Robert Serumaga	Writer and director - Robert Serumaga Cast - Jane Majoro, Paul Mpagi, Richard Seruwagi, Robert Serumaga, Jones Kiwanuka, Sarah Ntambi, Jane Kobusingye, Charles Buyondo, Marie Kirindi, Charles Tumwesigye, Dede Majoro

